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The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco
Essay on the political transformation of the sedentary Berbers (Shluh group)
[Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le sud du Maroc
Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sedentaires (groupe chleuh)]

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[Title page]

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/vii/ Foreword

121 A surprising contradiction dominates the social life and the history of the populations of North Africa.

On the one hand, in fact, the sedentary or nomadic tribes of Berbérie /Barbary/ -- for as long at least as foreign conquests did not transform their conditions of existence and their organization -- have clung to having democratic or oligarchic institutions respected in their primitive States. The Aurès, Kabylia, in Algeria, the Rif, the land of the Jbala /Jebala/, and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, in Morocco, are thus as though covered by a mosaic of small cantons within which men strive to preserve a rigorous and jealous equality among them.

On the other hand, we know that there have always arisen in the bosom of these tribes, faithful to their traditional laws, divided into minuscule republics, leaders of principalities capable of destroying all resistance by means of their own forces, of building up vast commands in a few years, and even of founding dynasties. But the political structures of these men of war or of these "mahdis" remain ephemeral; we sometimes see them disappear without even leaving lasting traces of their capitals on the soil that saw them come into existence. From the barbarian kings assembled in Rome up to the last holy-war agitators and to the pretenders of our time, refugees on the summits of the Rif or at the boundaries of the Sahara, passing by the founders of the powerful Fatimite /Fatimid/ or Almohade empires, the ceaselessly interrupted succession of Berbère /Berber/ leaders fills the history of a constantly renewed agitation. It seems that such efforts cannot bring to an end the resistance of peoples obstinately faithful to the tradition of their anarchic communities.

Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, the only writer of North Africa who has /viii/ tried to penetrate the inner life of this country, often expressed in his work the feeling of melancholy that this fragility of kingdoms and empires inspired in him; he did not consent, however, to explain to us with enough precision how

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121 the play of inner forces, united now to form them, now to destroy them, was exercised. In the absence of historians' texts, it is by studying the tribes -- and more specifically the ones that have stayed away from external influences -- that one can hope to distinguish the phases of these struggles that match the primitive republics against the leaders who dominate them for a time. It is in this form that we are permitted to see this drama, which sums up a large part of the political life of the Maghreb, being performed.

Direct observation of the small Berbère /Berber/ States, a comparison of their forms and of their structure, indeed permits catching a glimpse of the laws of their evolution, which history does not make known to us. Thus Masqueray could show, in a masterly book (1), that the primitive hamlets of the Aurès, the picturesque and animated villages of Kabylia, the silent towns of the Mzab represented among the sedentary peoples of Algeria the successive stages in the formation of cities, following a progression analogous to the one that primitive Greece and Rome may have known.

Is it not likewise permissible to wonder whether the establishment of the power of the leaders who rise for an instant over anarchic tribes does not also proceed in rapid stages according to constant rules unknown to men, but which nevertheless invariably direct their courses and lead them first to success, then to ruin?

For the purpose of trying to see whether this is so, there is doubtless no field of research more favorable than Morocco. Indeed, until the establishment of the French Protectorate, we can see an isolated empire living there, half-stricken with helplessness, shaken at the same time by dynastic crises and tribal revolts, now torn apart by dissension, now unified by the energetic

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[113] 1. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886.

/viii cont./

121 action of a sovereign. It seems that the permanent opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the central power is livelier and more constant here.

Furthermore, in one of the provinces of the South of the Empire large commands with feudal aspects exist, which by an exception /ix/ nearly unique in North Africa have taken on the appearance of stability before our eyes. There is no doubt but that we can comprehend here, from modest examples, it is true, but with a precision that history does not allow us to attain, the relations of the tribes and their chiefs.

Such were the general considerations suggested to us by the study of the history and the spectacle of the life of the tribes, when circumstances led us to conceive the project of undertaking the work that we are finishing today, after five years of investigation.

121 114 When in 1923 Marshal Lyautey did us the great honor of asking us to prolong a stay in Morocco that had allowed us to acquaint ourselves with the life of the indigenous populations and granted us complete freedom to pursue new studies there, we intended to limit ourselves solely to becoming better acquainted with the origin of the power of the chiefs of the Atlas, the organization of their commands, and the institutions that they had been able to found in Berbère /Berber/ country. After two years of missions in the western Atlas and the plains of the Sous /see p. 5, footnote 1/, it seemed to us at first that one could not understand how this "Berbère feudality" had become established without at the same time observing the progressive and correlative decline of the mountain republics, for which the leaders of the South had substituted themselves little by little for less than half a century; on the other hand, the transformation of the country, which had taken place since the appearance of the large commands, obviously only indicated a succession of stages in a more complete evolution; it was easy to see that the central government, the "Makhzen" /makhzan/, whose progressive penetration was so prominent, was coming in turn to gather in

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121 114 the heritage of the lords. Most often it was the sherifian power that maintained the struggle of the chiefs and tribes by its encouragement or its indirect influence. The appearance of the great kaids in Berbère /Berber/ country thus made us a witness at the successive phases of the constitution of the Empire.

Consequently, a study mission devoted to the tribes of northern Morocco during the revolt of ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ in 1925 and 1926, then two additional years of research in the Anti-Atlas, the Dadès, and on the coast of the Sous and of the Tekna were to allow us to complete the observations that we had been able to make /x/ at first; we were led to establish numerous comparisons between the institutions of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and those of the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala /Jebala/, the Rif, and Kabylia, so as to extend the scope of our conclusions to the greatest part of sedentary Berbérie [128] /Barbary/. The facts that have served to make up the books II and III of this work were collected in this way.

128 [121] It remained for us to make knowledge of these obscure struggles in the interior of a distant and little-known province of the Sherifian Empire more accessible to the reader not very familiar with the aspects of Berbère /Berber/ life and of the history of the Maghreb. Here, in our first book, we have tried, without worrying about making a geographical study, to tell simply, but with all the development that seemed desirable to us, what the general conditions of existence and the primitive civilization of the populations established in the region where we multiplied our investigations were; likewise, while dismissing the project of writing an actual history of the Moroccan South -- impossible to compose because of the insufficiency of sources -- we also thought that it would be useful to sketch the picture of the great struggles of the past for which it was the theater.

121 In fact, it is difficult, even for a specialist, to put together easily and to interpret the principal indications that the historians and chroniclers give us about the life of a land far from the great capitals and that are found scattered in a large number of works;

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121 nevertheless, it is certain that a picture of the existence of the Moroccan South under the great dynasties or in the periods of anarchy illuminates the present rather well and successfully completes the study of still-living social forms. In following the course of history we sometimes see during the great reigns how the same forces were formerly exerted in order to arrive at results similar to the ones that we are given to observe in our day; we perceive also how, on the contrary, during the centuries of complete anarchy other influences could expand -- those of the founders of zaouias /zawiyas, zauias: Moslem monasteries and schools/ -- whose role is reduced to the most modest proportions today.

Certainly the present work -- in spite of its length -- leaves important gaps. Thus, we have not recognized for these religious leaders, shorfa /shurfa/, marabouts, masters of brotherhoods, /xi/ a role as active as one expects to see them take in this land of the "Sous el Aqsa" /Far Sous/, which has remained the fatherland of doctors of law, mystics, and saints, and people will doubtless be tempted to reproach us for not having given at great enough length the reasons for their effacement. Uncontested masters of the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the maraboutic powers have since seen their political prestige diminish before the progress of the authority of the sherifian Makhzen /makhzan/. Without doubt it might have been useful to study better the forms of the decline with which they have been struck today at the borders of the Sahara, where we found them as refugees; their activity, reduced but not negligible, still goes on in the south of the Anti-Atlas, and it is known that in the extreme part of this chain the little religious State of Tazerwalt kept a prestige sufficient to disturb the Sultans until about 1885. The necessity of ending our investigations with the tribe and not extending the size of this work indefinitely led us to limit the study of these influences, which have remained all-powerful for so long in Berbère /Berber/ country, more strictly than we would have liked.

/xi cont./

121 We should also have liked to tell better what the juridical consequences of the political transformation that has so completely changed their social life for half a century have been for the tribes subject to the great chiefs and to the Makhzen /makhzan/. Going through transitions, often rapid, from the regulations of a customary law singularly primitive -- although very much alive and marvelously well adapted sometimes to the economic circumstances of existence -- to the rigid rules established by the sacred legislation of the Koran, the Berbères /Berbers/ see the ruin of the traditions to which they are secretly most attached thus being precipitated after their submission. The documents that might have permitted us to follow this (114) evolution of institutions and customs are still inadequate or too difficult to interpret for us to have been able to try to follow the various phases of the conflict between the two laws.

121 127 We must explain here the material conditions under which the documentation on which this study of the struggle between the Berbère /Berber/ republics and their leaders rests could be gathered.

One must not expect to find in the texts of the Moroccan authors information that would permit one to study the institutions of a province far away from the Empire. First of all, /xii/ historic sources truly worthy of the name are rare in this country; the writers of recent centuries, especially those whose information is most important to us because it explains the present more, scarcely tell us anything except the greatest events of each sovereign's reign; for the nineteenth century, barely a few pages of Akensous and of Ahmed en Nasiri bring us the brief account of the Sultan's expeditions or set down the weakened echo of the wars that took place in the Atlas. For the tribes, even in the zaouias there are scarcely any archives that can fill the gaps of the official history; sometimes only a few records give us the names of vanished leaders, or, still more rarely, the flyleaf of a law book bears, in the awkward hand of a poor village scholar, the mention of the date of the great events

/xii cont./
121 that struck his mind, death of holy personages, passage of the
[127] Sultan's armies, struggles of villages or cantons.

So it is by direct inquiry, made in the country, that one
114 must ask what the texts deny us. It is therefore necessary to
123 try, in the course of long visits in the villages of the Atlas, to
[122] adopt the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ for a time by a kind of voluntary mimicry; by speaking their language, one will even try to take on their habits of thought, in order to lessen the distance that separates us from their primitive civilization and to get to observe it better.

Moreover, this method of investigation does not proceed without serious difficulties; it imposes, perhaps still more than the use of documents, a rigorous discipline.

Indeed, one cannot ask the Berbères /Berbers/ -- even when we have gained their confidence at the cost of some effort -- to initiate us into all that we do not know about them; it does not occur to them that we may not know what is most obvious to them and most strange to us; this is how it happened that we spent several months in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ studying the life of the tribes without discovering the existence of the "leffs," that organization of permanent alliances without which, however, it is impossible to understand the transformation that has taken place in the country in the past fifty years; only the chance occurrence of a historical inquiry made with the oldest old men of a village abruptly revealed to us their nature and essential role. Rather /xiii/ than by confidences, it is thus by an attentive observation of the present, by meticulous research on the events of the past -- such as the oldest witnesses can enable us to know -- that one will come to understand the nature of the institutions and to discern the working of the laws that dominate the politics of the tribes.

121 On the other hand, each of the cantons in which the inhabitants of the Moroccan South voluntarily enclose their activity has its own life; particularly in the mountains, the horizon of the political life of these small republics is strictly limited; it will

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121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

[131] [133] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 127 114 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favorable political circumstances and the progress of French penetration, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

121 114 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

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1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 114 /xiv/ guests, high in the towers of the casbahs, or still oftener in the humbler homes of the village sheiks, that we tried to uncover the various aspects of the simple life of the montagnards of the Moroccan South. While, before our eyes, the sometimes attractive, always engaging pictures of the primitive and harsh existence in the high valleys were helping us to understand the present, the old men were telling us about the wars of the past, the traditions formerly respected, now destined for oblivion, because they had become forever useless in a new order. These invaluable recitals by hundreds of witnesses evoked half a century of history for us in the country itself, amidst ruins of villages or on the towers of fortresses, with a certainty and a lifelike precision of details that gave us the illusion of the present. Little by little such obscure struggles were illuminated for us, and in the course of the harsh stages of the Atlas roads it happened at times, in the stern grandeur of the summits and passes, that we encompassed in a single glance a vast horizon of valleys where we practiced discerning with our guides, as in a wide-open book, the hidden meaning of Berbère /Berber/ life.

122 Having reached the end of our labor, it remains for us to express our feelings of deep thanks and respectful gratitude to those who permitted us to undertake it and to finish it; it would not have seen the light of day without the confidence with which Marshal Lyautey honored us by keeping us in Morocco and giving us the necessary means for carrying on our investigations. The honor of having been thus associated in a small way with his work will remain for us the most precious memory of our African career.

The support, so kind and wise, of Colonel Huot, directeur des Affaires indigènes /Director of Native Affairs/, greatly facilitated our beginnings.

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122 Mr. Steeg, résident général of France in Morocco, kindly gave us the same trust, and it is thanks to his intervention and the interest that he took in our research, with the late Mr. Duclos, directeur des Affaires indigènes, that we were able to finish the necessary investigations.

General Daugan and General Huré, commanding the region of Marrakech, gave us in every circumstance the kindest help in carrying out our missions.

Without risking omissions, we could not here call off the names /xv/ of all the officers of the Direction des Affaires indigènes who facilitated our labors in the regions of Marrakech, Fez, and Taza, and in their commands reserved for us the most confident and cordial welcome. May they be willing to believe in our feelings of deep and friendly gratitude. We must at least mention here the very constant support and very valuable encouragement that were given us by our late friend Captain H. Thraen, of the service des Affaires indigènes, who died on duty at Marrakech in 1927, as well as the useful information collected with Commandant Bourguignon, killed by the enemy at Kechachda in 1927. Our friend H. Basset, the late director of the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan Advanced-Studies/, had kindly interested himself in our work in 1924 and guided our first research with his advice.

We must particularly show our gratitude to our friends: 12 Captain Pennès -- who so often gave us the valuable contribution of his knowledge and courage in the course of aerial missions and the geographical study of the dissident regions -- Lieutenant F. de La Chapelle, to whom we owe such useful studies on the country of the Seksawa (Book III, Ch. II and III), on which we have so largely drawn here; Lieutenant Spillman, Captain Interpreter Ben Daoud, from whom we

/xv cont./

12 borrowed valuable information on the customary law; Mr. G. S. Colin, professor at the Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines and at the École des Langues orientales vivantes /School of Modern Oriental Languages/, who willingly communicated to us important manuscript notes on the land of the Ghomara, the Koutama, and the Srair Senhaja; Commandant Portillo, of the "Intervenciones militares" of the Spanish zone of the Protectorate, who so kindly facilitated for us a visit to the country of the Jbala /Jebala/.

128 Finally, our friends H. Terrasse, A. Basset, J. Célérier have had the goodness to look over our manuscript and many times made useful suggestions; we beg them to believe in our heartfelt gratitude.

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114 It is impossible for us to pass over in silence the welcome, so often earnest and friendly, that was accorded to us in the poor mountain villages by our innumerable informants or, in the casbahs, by the greatest number of tribal leaders. In order to give us the information that we were trying to collect, some quite often had to manifest a courage, others to demonstrate /xvi/ in us a confidence which did not fail to be meritorious. If, in the following pages, we have sometimes happened to express our sympathy for certain forms of the Berbères' /Berbers'/ social life in preference to others, at least we have tried here to judge the institutions rather than the men. The latter are worth more than the former, and more than once, in leaving the house of a kaid, or still more often at the threshold of the humble dwelling of an Atlas sheik, after long hours spent with the Berbères to evoke the ancient struggles, we felt the regret of leaving behind us friends whom time and distance would never permit us to see again.

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First Book

The Sous in the Maghreb and in History

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First Chapter

The General Conditions of Human Life

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- II. The Sous political microcosm. -- III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the mountains. -- VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The mountain massifs. -- IX. The sea.

121 101 I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- The history of North Africa, in its general effect, gives us the spectacle of a series of dynastic undertakings without any order, vainly attempted in the most diverse regions in order to found Berbère /Berber/ or Arab kingdoms in the heart of a land that has remained essentially anarchic and rebellious toward unity. It is not impossible, however, to distinguish in this disorder two distinct regions. In the immense territory that goes from the Gulf of the Syrtes to the Moulouya, it seems that the chiefs, rising from the tribes or coming from the outside, are more often unable to triumph and that their ambitions are more quickly wearied by the obstinate resistance of the sedentary peoples or worn out by the inconstancy of the nomads. The far Maghreb, on the other hand, under the domination of powerful rulers, has frequently come to take on the aspect of a State. The Idrisite shorfa /shurfa/, the Almoravide, Almohade, Mérinide /Marinide/ conquerors, the Saadian and Filalian shorfa, who in the course of the centuries successively wielded power in the same places, and not without interruptions, succeeded in creating there, in spite of the opposition of their subjects, the tradition of a government of the Occident, which is not unworthy of being compared with the great monarchies of eastern Islam.

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121 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Mo-
101 rocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical ar-
rangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here.
133 In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of re-
121 volts and anarchy. In these natural centers of resistance, the
Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient in-
101 stitutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to
adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

/4 cont./

121 101 stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish in our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

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[197] 1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ᶜAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

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121 II. The Sous political microcosm. -- A large part of the internal history of Morocco can be explained only through the study of the relations of the central government, or "Makhzen" /makhzan/, with the various Berbère /Berber/ regions that border the subdued provinces of the Empire. In order to uncover the hidden web of the most important events of the past, whose links and causes the Arab writers have so little sought to make known to us, it would be necessary to examine the conditions under which the authority of the Sultans over the Berbère republics was developed and consolidated, to distinguish by what imperceptible transitions a personal power based on force, unlimited and tyrannical by nature, could be born, grow, and be exercised in the interior of a country traditionally hostile to a government with a single head, up to the time when dynastic crises or revolts gave the "bled es Siba" its liberty.

It would also be necessary to take into consideration the different degrees of penetration of the great Berbère /Berber/ regions by the politics of the Moroccan dynasties. The Ghomara and the Senhaja of the North, the Masmouda and the Senhaja of the South, have at various times interfered in the "bled el Makhzen" by their alliances or their wars; on the other hand, the unseizable pastoralists of the Southeast have most often remained aloof from the great events that were agitating the central plains, or manifested their existence only by an unyielding opposition; it is still among them that it is necessary to go in our day in order /6/ to find a faithful image of the existence of independent tribes that have stayed outside the great currents of the Mussulman civilization and are attached to their traditions of freedom and anarchy even more than to life.

To conduct an inquiry into the relations of the Berbères /Berbers/ and the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the whole of Morocco and in the course of history would be an ambitious and, in the present state of our knowledge, somewhat bold enterprise.

On the one hand, the institutions of the Empires that have succeeded one another in this land are too poorly known for us to

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121 be able, in studying them, to discover with sufficient accuracy the political rules of the Mussulman sovereigns with respect to their rebel subjects; on the other hand, tribal life, full of apparently insignificant events, of revolts and obscure struggles, lends itself poorly to large-scale research. What we know of the history of the provinces permits us only to perceive a monotonous alternation between periods of organization and of anarchy, whose deep causes are not easily discoverable at first sight.

But if we narrowly limit our field of observation, choosing a part of the Maghreb in which are found joined together in a small space and a short period the successive aspects of an evolution that is going on everywhere according to the same laws, it is possible to understand the nature of the great rhythm of Berbère /Berber/ life. One observes first of all the agitated existence of the small anarchical republics, then the appearance and development of chiefs who bring order and oppression at the same time, finally the return to disorder and liberty.

121 101 We shall study here, as closely as possible, the social and political organization of the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the south of Morocco between the Dra and the Atlantic, in this region to which the historians give the name of Sous (1).

1. Here we give the province name of the Sous to the whole region that is the domain of the dialect of the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/. Stricto sensu, the name of Sous is often reserved for the valley of the Oued /wadi/ of that name itself and for the two versants of the Anti-Atlas. But in the eyes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the country of the Masmouda, the Atlas Occidental, is likewise part of it. The relative unity of the social structure of the tribes, the close relationship of the various languages, the existence of a kind of civilization common to all the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco justify our terminology.

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121 [101] /Footnote 1 continued./ Here we shall use the word "Sous" in its narrow sense only when specifying that it is a matter of the valley of this river itself or of the interior plain that it crosses.

There human life takes on incontestable characteristics of unity under an apparent diversity of aspects. The Makhzen /makhzan/, the tribes, and the chiefs confront one another in turn /7/ and give us the perfect picture, in a little world in reduction, of that opposition, simple in its principles, complex in its forms, which on the whole sets by the ears the government and its subjects. In this region, more than anywhere else, it is easy to distinguish the phases of the transformation that carries along in the same current the little Berbère /Berber/ societies. We actually see minuscule states pass from independent life to servitude before our eyes; subject to influences that little by little alter their constitution and their structure, they obey similar laws and take part at the same time in the same evolution.

121 171 While looking at the Sous as a kind of political microcosm of Morocco, we shall nevertheless try to extend our observations to other regions, when the transformation of their institutions makes such a comparison possible. From examples chosen from among the Jbala /Jebala/, in the Rif or in the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, we shall show how the simple laws that the study of the tribes in the province of the Sous has disclosed to us can explain the life of the tribes in the greater part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

121 Only the country of the seminomads of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas will remain entirely exempt from our investigations. We thought that the different conditions of the material life, the less advanced state of the political evolution before the establishment of our protectorate, did not really allow us to establish with sufficient certitude comparisons between that region and the other countries populated by sedentary peoples. In any case the deep hostility manifested

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121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

101 133 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geographical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./
101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes
of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja estab-
lished for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter
differ somewhat from the "tachelhaït" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous
and already present some characteristics of transition with those
of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary,
one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life,
the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the
transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ᶜAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

/9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
121 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the
101 passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations
that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of
the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the
same rules the different transformation of their political life, we
shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain
tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the
Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic
up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra
with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-
Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and
the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

/9 cont./

132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too [133] late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./
132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and
the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to
132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that out-
241 side of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain
torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than
one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to
famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been
filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon
their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to
acquire, in the vicinity of the séguias /conduits for supplying
and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few
tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose
three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit
escaping the famine.

The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
132 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain,
233 nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces nec-
essary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees
covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the
stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pas-
toralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who
have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history,
have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life.
Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the
springs and séguias and whose cultivated lands extend all around
or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or
unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted
to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds
from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes
noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/11 cont./
132 chains of the Atlas -- the "Deren" of the Arab geographers and
133 the Anti-Atlas -- between which the volcanic mass of the Sirwa shoots out like a gigantic bridge, form natural barriers and screens on the north versant, from which the streams and snows run down or abate several times in the course of the winter.

The average width of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ reaches 80 kilometers and its crests rise in the east to more than 4,000 meters in the region of the summits of the Ighil Mgoun /Ighil M'Goun/ and Wanoukrim; the massif of the Tichka, among the Seksawa, still reaches 3,500 meters; the tabular mountains of the Ida Ou Tanan are more than 2,000 meters above the Ocean. The rising of masses of air, which takes place slowly on the gentle slope of the north versant of the great chain, causes abundant precipitation. Its total amount is double that observed in the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain. Moreover, the rainfall is more regular in the Deren than in the rest of the Sous, and even during the summer the storms from the region of the summits help to maintain in the high pastures a humidity unknown elsewhere. The abundant snows of the high summits last until July, and their melting feeds torrents whose clear waters flow in the plain until autumn. By contrast, the south versant of the Haut-Atlas, steeply inclined toward the Sous valley, is less favored; it receives only a small part of the winter rains and the storms; the snow disappears in a few days under the action of an implacable sun, and the brooks that flow in the spring dry up for the most part before summer.

132 But even if the high parts of the Deren benefit from a favor-
133 able pluviometric regime similar to the one of the plains of the
241 Gharb /Rharb/, man manages to turn it to account only with difficulty. The relief is in fact so abrupt, the cut of the valleys so deep, that arable land is nearly unknown in the mountains. It is by patient effort, rolling big stones to make minuscule terraces, that the Berbères /Berbers/ succeed in retaining on the flank of the torrents /12/ the precious humus from which their labor will make a few ears come up. Accordingly, the high plateaus of the Atlas, such as the Kik, the "Azzeg" of the left bank of the Asif

/12 cont./
132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Aït Semmeg and the Oneïn, take
133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged
241 lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They
have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border
to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the
plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming
from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
133 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
361 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Dem-
241 nate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tisgin, Imi n
[245] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguias.
Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock
[443] from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great
plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Aït Semmeg, Talekjont and Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou Gwailal, and of Bou Lʿajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat reduce the flow from the springs and séguias and narrowly delimit the development of the cultivated land.

The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are com-
133 pletely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at
various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnidif, one readily finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.
[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to
the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./
133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near
the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years
the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one instead
133 of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited
361 inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi
to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to
the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the
Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the
desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin
/Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa,
and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a
Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/
plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
133 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of
241 desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
(137) Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards.
Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
133 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fertility
241 of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel
with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of
the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./
133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
361 ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
[443] mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
134 the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure
the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
311 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
241 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
166 still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[132] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[731] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
[727] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[101] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common
[144] characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère
/Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi,
101 which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce
between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan
South that one can observe the most original manifestations of
the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at
ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the
"harsten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/
Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mix-
ture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often
falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more
bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autoch-
thons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups
that occupy them and remain the most active and the most nu-
merous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding
what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the
plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed
491 by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which
constant relations are established between the two versants, so
that the displacement of people, the migration of families and
tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/15 cont./

133 491 In the western Atlas the Tizi n Fedghat and the Tizi n Telwet, at close to 2,000 meters in altitude, thus put the land of the Skoura, the Haut-Dra, in communication with Demnat and Marrakech by a road that the winter snows sometimes cut for several weeks. Farther to the West, the Tizi n Test, which rises to 1,900 meters, presents the same difficulties; it is followed by travelers who are going from Taroudant to Marrakech by following the valley of the Nefis. The Tizi Maᶜcho, whose altitude does not go beyond 1,400 meters, is free in all seasons; it commands the passage from Taroudant to Imi n Tanout and Mogador. Finally, no difficulty is found on the coastal trail, which borders the country of the Haha, other than the slope of the last hills of the Atlas or the bed of the dry wadis in the vicinity of the Ocean; this is the natural route of invasions between the plains of the Sous and Marrakech, which Arabs and Berbères /Berbers/ have so often taken in the course of the centuries.

These routes of the Deren are themselves only the prolongation of the ones used across the Anti-Atlas by travelers who have come from the palm groves of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani and who want to reach the towns of the North. From Aqqa and Tatta, by way of the crests of the Ida ou Kensous or the valley of the Inda ou Zal, one thus arrives in the Sous plain at the very point where the trail of the Tizi n Test climbs the Haut-Atlas toward Marrakech; from Tamanart by way of Amanouz and the Tizi n Taraqatin one reaches the land of the Ida ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal, to find before him the passage of the Tizi Maᶜcho across the Deren. Between /16/ the Ocean and the western massif of the Kest and of the Ida ou Semlal, the rolling territory of the Aït Ba ᶜAmrañ, the plain of Tiznit and of the Chtouka offer an easy route for the caravans that go up toward Mogador by following the trail of the Haha.

133 491 492 There are many other intermediate passes, which, without being graded for the movement of the heavily loaded camels, cross the high crests between the upper valleys of each versant. In the Deren during the fine season the montagnards use up to

/16 cont./

133 491 [492] more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the women, children, and flocks.

[233] [438] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. *[634] [578] [437] In spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 628 [487] [438] On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/17 cont./

491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the
result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of
making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a
sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in
[619] the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand,
unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult region
131 bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west
by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt,
dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial
lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents
everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys
break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful
133 Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role
other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the
Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn
energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by
their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Maᶜcho
there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and
less wild.

/17 cont./
133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
[361] the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed
to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the
harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of
cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents,
at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply
into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the
Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom,
isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants
of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in
agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the
foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part
of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade
tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of
the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit
of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Merinides tremble
in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained
powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around
the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had
to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of
the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the
price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Maᶜcho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history
have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it
from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues,
beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only
by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of
Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds
high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward
north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep
gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are
the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only
[137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and
tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country
from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness
and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desolation.
361 Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the
[137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of
the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost absent;
[312] each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest,
burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in
the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven toward
619 the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of
the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the
south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer
any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming
from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have
thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have
fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous,
of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan
alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the
territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away
from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as
to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Ait ᶜAmer, also constitutes
a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has remained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/
[619] from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two versants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor,
[361] and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a
182 pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

133 /20 cont./
181 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
182 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have
acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of
Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and
more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its
western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its
flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea.
More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida
ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meq-
qorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Fi-
nally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange
shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the
strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the
Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long
tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all
their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not
drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered
to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of
the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador
to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the de-
velopment of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean
[501] beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Sev-
eral natural shelters, at Im[illegible]wan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow
fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths
of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the
Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in
summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in
order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports
except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./
226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior.
133 But, in spite of the interest that the complementary resources
361 of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insufficient
[226] activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters
and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic
one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of
dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most
often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
361 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who
648 were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here,
as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all, they had to
conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and
then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the
interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain
[439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the
feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has
been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of
a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time
has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and
thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever
been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons
have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their
too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign
activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and
disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the
Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to
have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the
poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who
frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up
to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much attention
000 to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth
century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the
Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./
000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 177 182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Musulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/24/

Chapter II

000 The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion.
101 184 619 It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

128 127 *175 The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

2: Montagne

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P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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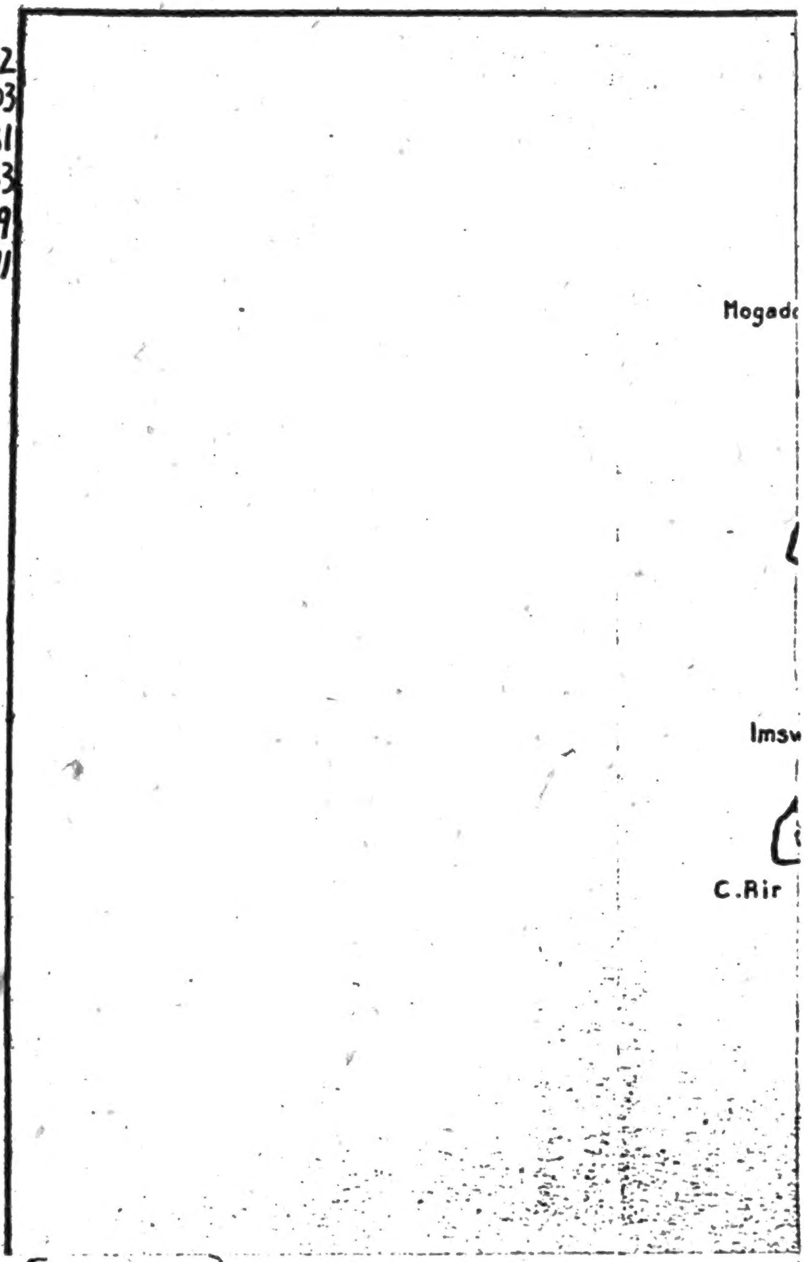
Mogad
Imsw
C.Rir

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--27 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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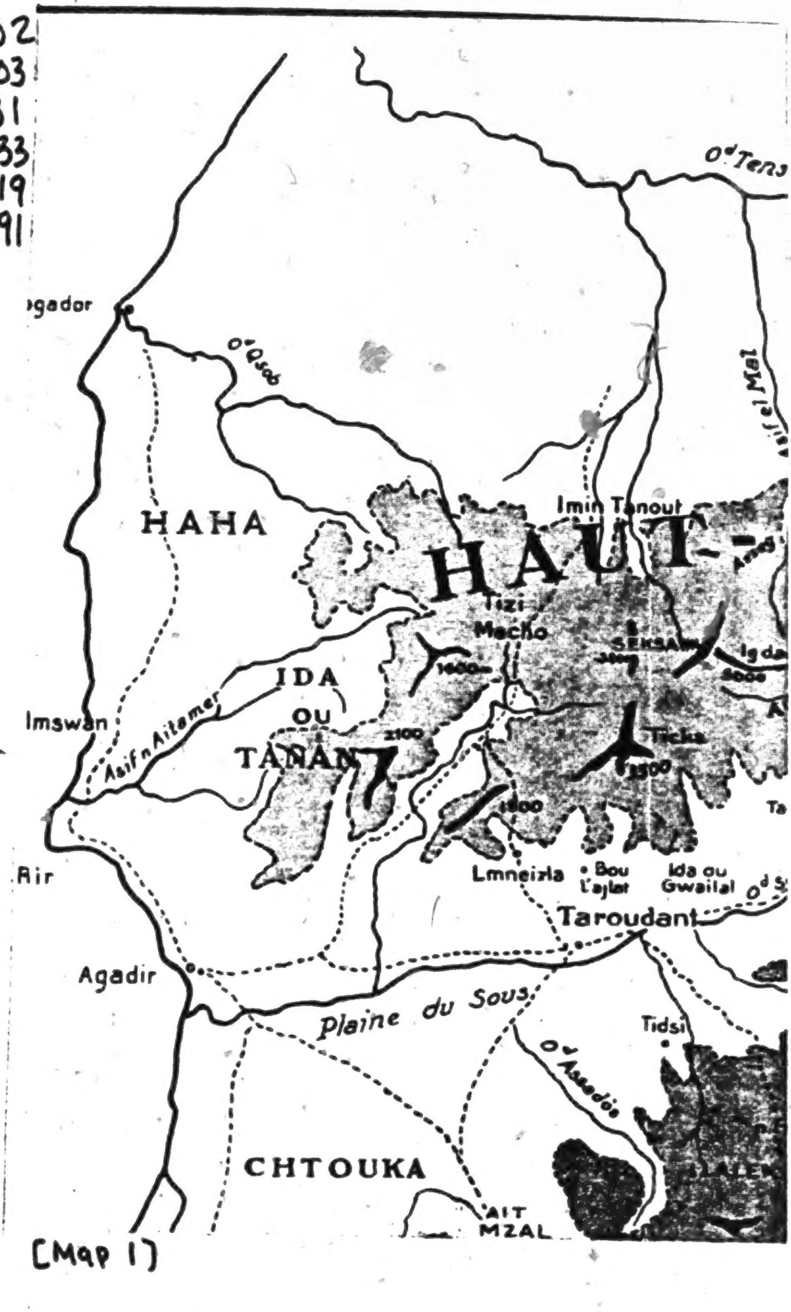
O^d Tens
gador
O^d Qsob
Asif el Mal
HAHA
Imin Tanout
HAUT-
Tizi
Macho
SEKSAWA
Igda
1600
3000
IDA
OU
TANAN
2100
Ticka
3500
Imswan
Asif n Aitamer
1800
Ta
Air
Lmneizla
Bou L'ajlat
Ida ou Gwailal
O^d S
Taroudant
Agadir
Plaine du Sous
Tidsi
O^d Assados
CHTOUKA
AIT
MZAL

[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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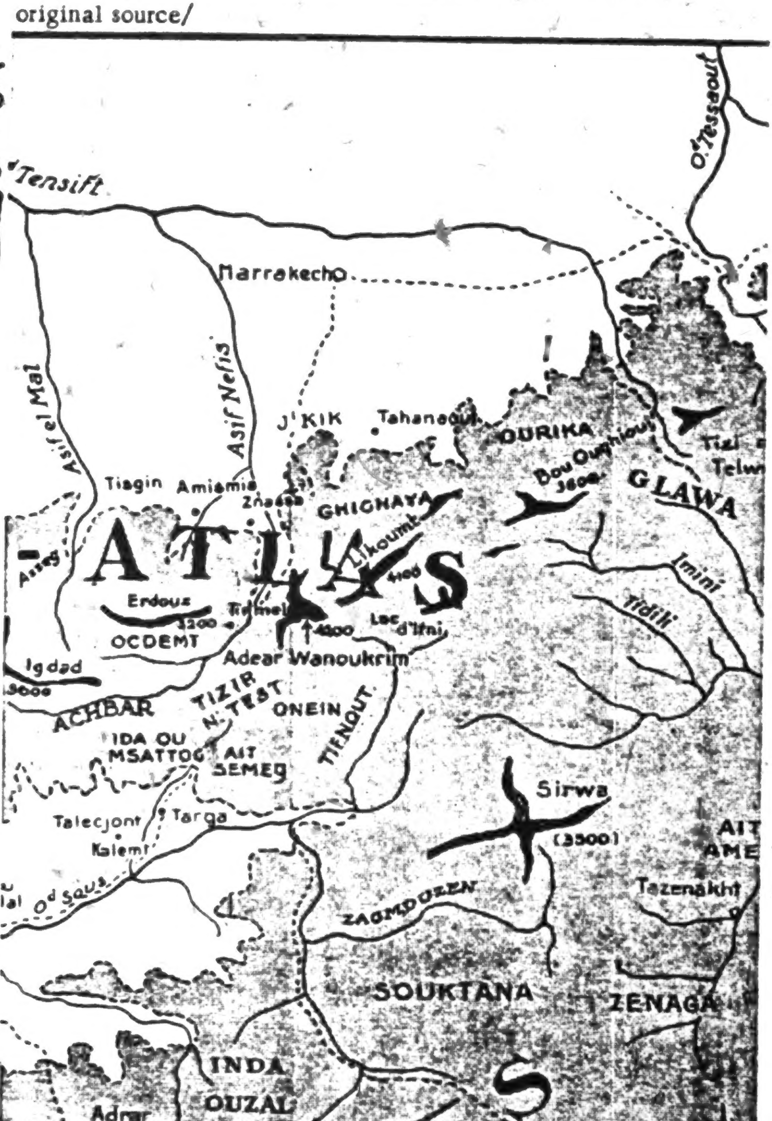
O^d Tensift
O^d Tessaout
Marrakech
Asif el Mal
Asif Nefis
J^l KIK
Tahanaout
OURIKA
Bou Ouguious
3600
GLAWA
Tizi
Telw
Tiagin
Amiamia
Znaga
GHIGHAYA
Likoumt
4100
ATLAS
Assif
Erdouz
3200
Tifnout
4200
Lac d'Ifni
OCDEMT
Adear Wanoukrim
Igdad
3000
ACHBAR
TIZI N TEST
ONEIN
TIFNOUT
IDA OU MSATTOG
AIT SEMEG
Imini
Tidili
Sirwa
(3500)
Talecjont
Targa
Kalemt
O^d Sous
ZAGMOUZEN
AIT AME
Tazenakht
SOUKTANA
ZENAGA
INDA OUZAL
Adrar n. Fidoust
2300
2300
IDA OU KENSOUS
Adrar Wakkim
ALEN
ATLAS

[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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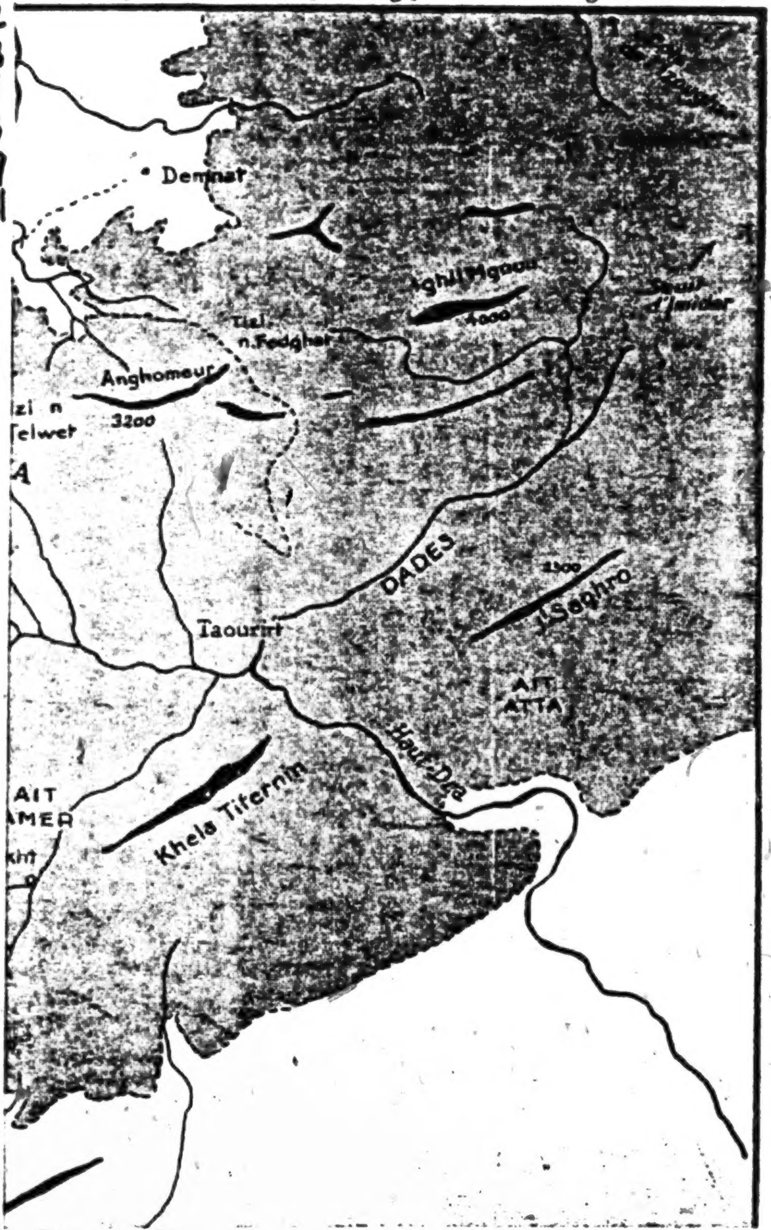
Demnat
Aghil M'goun
4000
Seuil d'Imider
Tizi n.Fedgher
Anghomeur
3200
Tizi n Telwet
A
DADES
2300
J. Saghro
Taourirt
AIT ATTA
Haut-Dra
AIT AMER
Khela Titernin
kht

[Map 1]

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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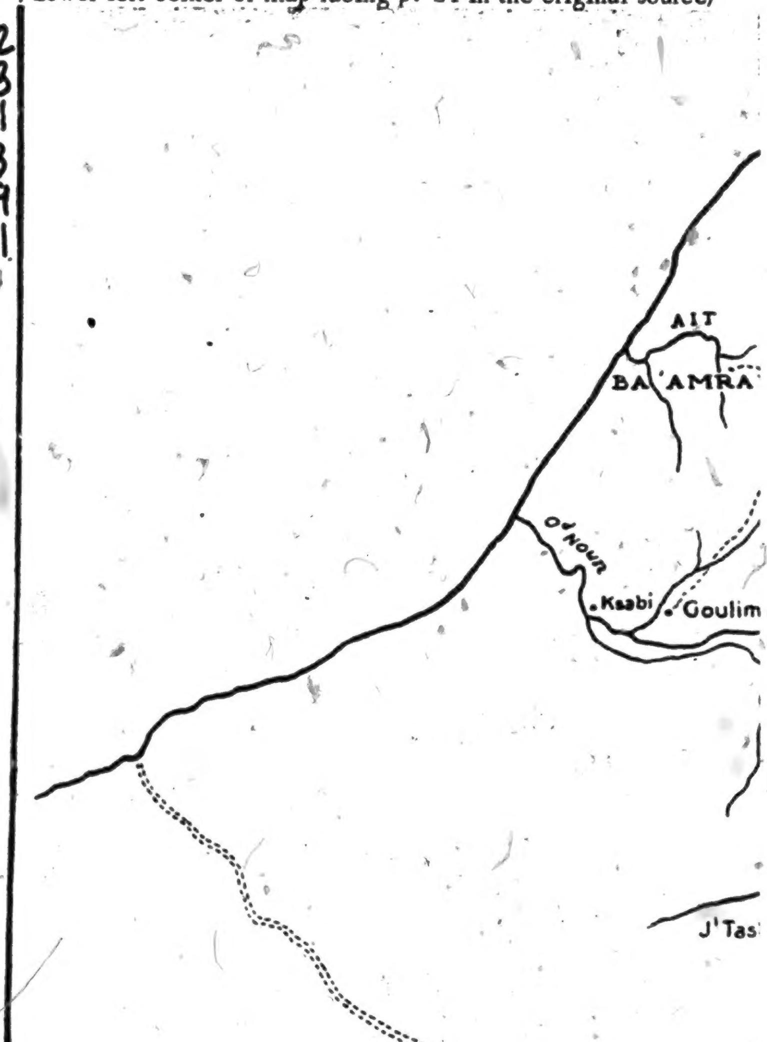
AIT
BA AMRA
O^d Noun
Ksabi
Goulim
J^t Tas
O^d Dra

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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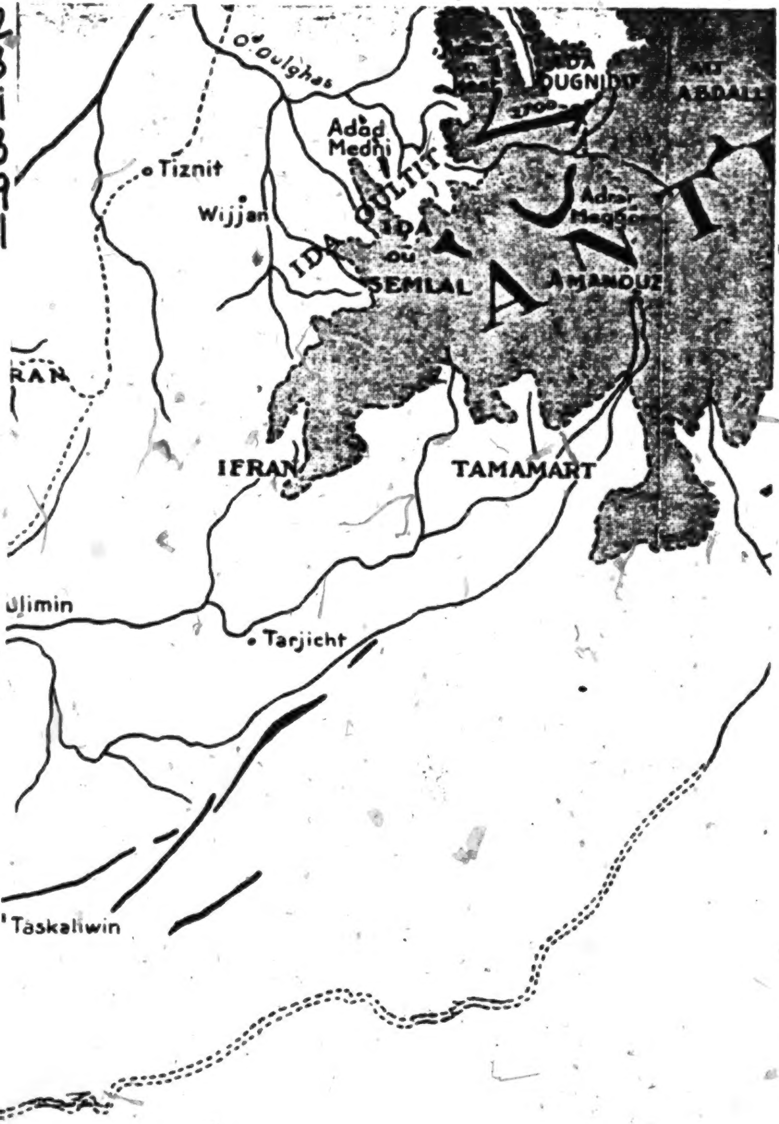

O. Oulghas
IDA OUGNID
AIT ABDALL
1700
Adad Medni
IDA OULTIT
Tiznit
Wijjan
Adrar Meggor
IDA ou SEMLAL
ANTI
AMANOUZ
RAN
IFRAN
TAMAMART
Ulimin
Tarjicht
Taskaliwin

[Map 1]

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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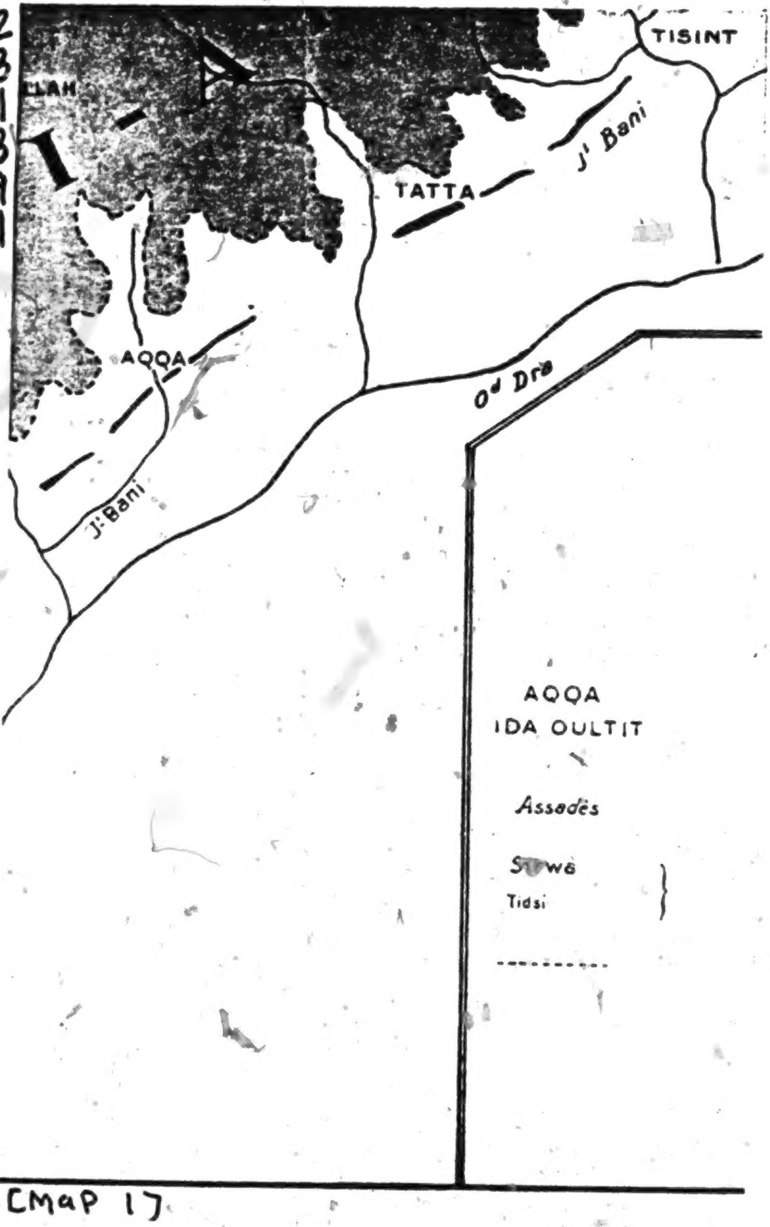
LLAH
TISINT
J' Bani
TATTA
AQQA
J. Bani
Od Dra
AQQA
IDA OULTIT
Assadès
Sirwa
Tidsi

[Map 1]

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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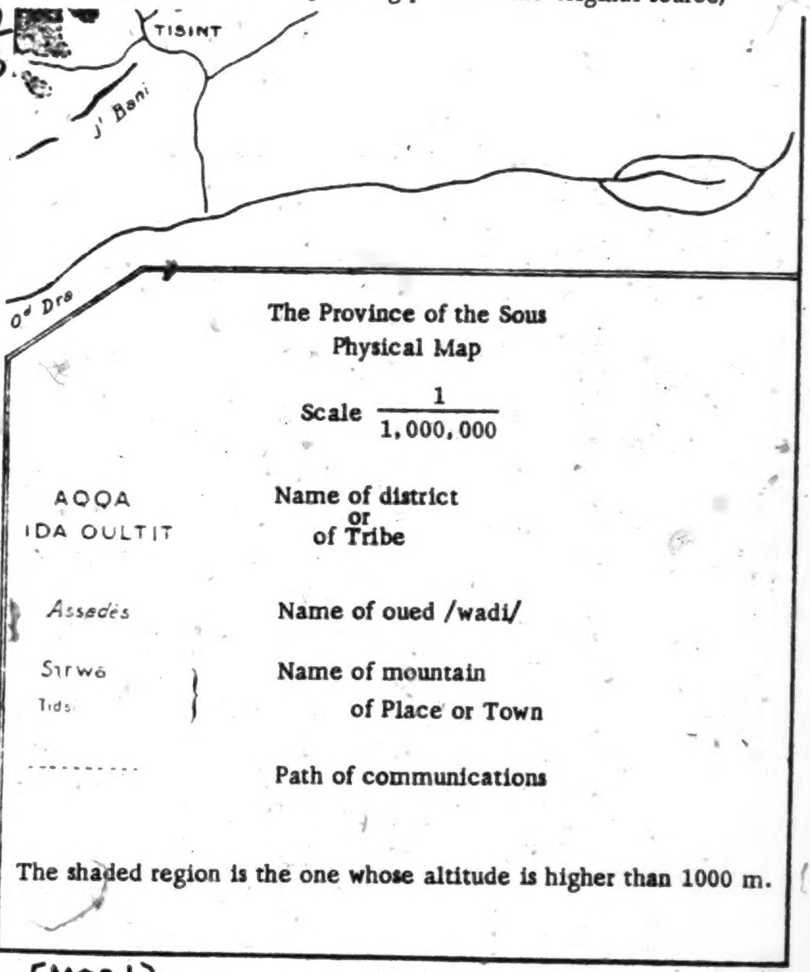
TISINT
J' Bani
Oᵈ Dra
AQQA
IDA OULTIT
Assedès
Sırwa
Tidsi

The Province of the Sous
Physical Map

Scale $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$

Name of district
or
of Tribe

Name of oued /wadi/

Name of mountain
of Place or Town

Path of communications

The shaded region is the one whose altitude is higher than 1000 m.

[Map 1)

/25 cont./

+175 [127] I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- If one is to believe the most ancient documents on the coast of Morocco that we possess -- the periplus of Hannon /Hanno/ in the fifth century before our era (1) -- three distinct population groups were living then in the vicinity of the Oued Dra /Dra Wadi/: the Lixites, the Troglodytes, and the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians were those men of black race, well known to Hérodote /Herodotus/, whose very numerous traces have been found in most of the Saharan oases, and who, with their archaic techniques, still exist in our day in the heart of the African continent in Borkou and Tibesti (2).

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[113] 1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, Vol. I, 3rd ed., pp. 295, 482, 499; Périple d'Hannon /Periplus of Hanno/, I to VII; Hérodote /Herodotus/, IV, 184 and 196 (cf. collection of texts, R. Roget, Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16 to 20).

[113] 2. E.-F. Gautier, Le Sahara /The Sahara/, Paris, 1923, p. 124. Perhaps they should be regarded as the ancestors of the Haraten /Haratin/, who in our day live in the big qsour /fortified places/ of the Dra, the Dadès, and the Ferkla, although, without any doubt, the bringing in of Sudanese slaves has in the course of the centuries renewed in large part the blood of the black populations of the oases.

/25 cont./

¥ 175 The Lixite pastoralists, who in their way of life were doubtless similar to the Touaregs /Tuareg/ of our time, were, one can believe, the predecessors of the Senhaja with the litham /veil/, widespread in the plains and deserts, the very ones who were to invade the plains of northern Morocco in the first centuries of Islam. Finally, one may think that the sedentary Troglodytes, settled in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas and the Haut-Dra, utilized from that distant epoch the numerous caverns hollowed out of the cliffs, which the Berbères /Berbers/ of our day invariably attribute to the Christians, legendary first inhabitants of the country.

No one has been able up to now to find on the Atlantic coast the traces of the five ports founded by Carthage between Cape Cantin and the mouth of the Dra; the colonies that populated them were doubtless rapidly destroyed by the autochthons. The Ethiopians were also to disappear almost completely, if one is to believe the traditions collected in the time of Edrisi /Idrisi/, under the blows given them by the desert tribes (3).

[113]

3. Edrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, Leiden, 1886, Dozy and de Goeje trans., pp. 34-35.

Only Lixites and Troglodytes existed, who, according to our hypothesis, would have belonged to the two great Berbère /Berber/ families of nomads and sedentary people, who subsequently did not cease confronting each other.

/26/ It is known that the Roman occupation of Morocco did not go beyond the plains of the north, and the southern limit of Mauretania Tingitana was marked approximately by the banks of the Bou Regreg. It is not surprising under these conditions that the Latin geographers bring us nothing on the Sous but an undecipherable list of tribes and the names of the large rivers.

We have to wait almost a millennium, up to the time of Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/ (ninth century), El Bekri /al-Bakri/

/26 cont./

*175 (eleventh century), and Edrisi /Idrisi/ (twelfth century), to obtain brief indications that permit knowing what the distribution of the populations of the Sous was in the early periods of Islam. Furthermore, in order to understand clearly the circumstances under which the great Berbère /Berber/ families mingled or collided in this remote epoch, we must make an appeal to the traditions that Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ tried tardily -- in the fourteenth century -- to collect and interpret.

One could not, without risking warping the history of Morocco by simplifying it to the extreme, try to explain the peopling of Morocco by the struggle between two ethnic groups, the Branès and the Botr, between whom Ibn Khaldoun seems to divide the ensemble of the Berbère /Berber/ populations, and whose ancient opposition in North Africa would be only the eternal combat between the sedentary people and the nomads (1).

[113] 1. E.-F. Gautier, Les Siècles obscurs du Magreb /The Obscure Centuries of the Maghreb/, Paris, 1927, p. 202 and sqq.

But if the exact meaning of the genealogical classifications established by Arab and Berbère scholars of the Middle Ages is doubtless destined to remain forever obscure to us, the large ethnic divisions that the historians and geographers distinguished in the same epoch under the family names of the Masmouda, Senhaja, and Zenata retain their value entirely; and all the ancient life of the Maghreb is explained by their struggles.

These groups, which include innumerable tribes and confederations often scattered over all of North Africa, constitute veritable nations in the early times of Islam. The elements that form them feel united by a powerful bond, which they get from the belief -- perhaps illusory -- in a common origin. These brothers of the same race are united enough to lend one another mutual assistance against their enemies, to defend their dynasties together, and at the same time to combat those of their rivals.

*-175 /27/ The Masmouda then represent almost the totality of the sedentary peoples of Morocco who from the Sous to Tangier occupy the mountains and the plains neighboring the Atlantic. The Zenata are nomads who come from the Orient in successive waves and spread out in the central steppes. The Senhaja include at the same time, from the first centuries of history, ancient sedentary peoples, such as the tribes of Kabylia or those of Tangier and Mazagan, and nomads who, under the name of Zenaga, live in the western Sahara or on the southern versant of the central Atlas.

Although the indications of historians are often imprecise, we can try to trace, from the distribution of the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the regions near the Atlantic around the seventh century, a picture that will suffice to make understandable the great events of history up to the epoch of the arrival of the Arabs.

A homogeneous mass of sedentary tribes is then settled in the western Atlas from the sources of the Dra to the shores of the Ocean and forms the most important group of the family of the Masmouda. The interior plain of the Sous is peopled with Masmouda agriculturalists mixed with the Senhaja from the south, to whom Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ gives the name Zenaga, preserved up to our day in a tribe to the southeast of the Sirwa. In the Anti-Atlas and in the confines of the Sahara, the large tribes still nomadic -- Gezzoula, Lamta, and other Zenaga -- of the family of the Senhaja, who exterminated the desert Ethiopians, are on the move; they await, in order to penetrate into the country of the sedentary peoples, the chances that history will not fail to give them in the coming centuries. One feels hovering over the Sous since that remote epoch, well before the Arab invasions, the threat of the nomads' arrival in the cultivated valleys.

To the north of the Atlas stretches the region that the historians call the lower Sous -- Sous el Adna -- in contradistinction to the Sous el Aqsa, or far Sous. It doubtless includes the whole of the Atlantic plains from the western Atlas to the approaches to the coastal chain of the Mediterranean. For the most part, it is also Masmouda agriculturalists who inhabit it. South

/27 cont./

*175 of the Oum er Rbi^ca live, in fact, the Doukkala /Dukkala/, Regraga, and Haha, whom the impact of Arab tribes will break up or later drive back toward the south; north of the same river, coming as far as the vicinity of Salé and the present territory of the Tadla, the Berghwata are soon going to found their heretical kingdom with false prophets, whose /28/ prestige over the tribes comes from the Berbère /Berber/ Koran that they teach. On the banks of the Sebou live the Beni Hasan, whose territory is contiguous with that of the Ghomara.

This latter group also belongs, if one is to believe Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, to the Masmouda tribes; it occupies the mountains that border the Mediterranean, so that the greatest part of the regions inhabited by sedentary peoples in the Maghreb el Aqsa forms a people of the same race, the same traditions, and the same customs (1).

[113] 1. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, de Slane trans., Vol. II, p. 135.

On the coast two blocks of Senhaja, one in the neighborhood of Tit and the Oum er Rbi^ca, the other on the approaches to Tangier, hardly interrupt the continuity of the Masmoudian territory. But already, on the Saharan confines of the Sous, the great rival family of the Senhaja throws toward the plains successive swarms of conquering tribes, who drive the Masmouda from the Sous valley and who, farther to the East, cross the Atlas and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and make their place by hurling back, to the West of the chain of the Rif, the Ghomara of the mountains of the North.

The great struggle between the Masmouda and the Senhaja, doubtless waged for centuries at the time of the Mussulman conquest, is complicated from the eighth century and still more from the tenth on by the appearance of the Zénète Berbères /Berbers/, nomads who came from the East in the tracks of the Mussulman conquerors, by the invasion route from Taza to Fez.

/28 cont./

*175 While the kingdom of the Berghwata is being created and organized under the aegis of its prophet-kings, in the center of Morocco, Zénète principalities form all around: at Salé, in the country of the Tadla, at Aghmat; their chiefs wage a merciless war with the heretics. The first Zénètes are, moreover, only the vanguard of an army that will come later and whose last elements, in the thirteenth century, will be the tribes of the Beni Merin (2).

[113]

2. L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI^{e} siècle /Morocco in the First Years of the Sixteenth Century/, Algiers, 1906, pp. 140, 146.

II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- It is then that the Almoravide conquerors appear, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ of the Lemtouna tribe, coming from Senegal, who bring along with them the Lamta from the Anti-Atlas (1053). The domination of Yousef /29/ Ben Tachfin /Yusuf ibn-Tashfin/ marks the decline of the power of the sedentary Masmouda; it precipitates first of all the ruin of the Berghwata -- already shaken by the blows given them by the Beni Ifran Zénètes -- and this disappearance takes on great importance, because thus the ethnic continuity of the sedentary tribes, whose territories extended until then from the western Atlas to the Rif, is broken; the Deren itself is conquered and visited by the Almoravides in its smallest innermost recesses (1);

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 71.

finally, in the North the Ghomara are threatened by the unceasingly stronger pressure of the Senhaja from the central Atlas, who have crossed the banks of the Ouergha and are presently reaching the shores of the Mediterranean. Without doubt, at the same epoch in the far Sous other Senhaja, the Gezzoula, are already

/29 cont./

*175 advancing from the Anti-Atlas toward the Sous, taking the place left vacant by the Lamta, and in turn begin the fight against the Masmouda.

Although the Arab historians do not tell us under what conditions the Almoravide conquest was brought about, the ensemble of the events whose concatenation we confusedly guess at suggests at this time the idea of a race struggle; the rapid successes of the Lemtouna, the power of their domination are explained, not only by the energetic effort of their armies, capable of breaking up, one by one, the small independent Berbère /Berber/ states that then cover Morocco, but also by an alliance concluded among all the Senhaja of the far Maghreb. Begun under a religious pretext, the Almoravide conquest became the war of the Ṣenhaja, coming from the steppes and desert, against the sedentary Masmouda of the mountains and fertile plains; the thus aggravated antagonism of the two Berbère families was not one of the least causes that made possible the Almohade reaction and the prodigious success of the tribes of the Nefis in the twelfth century. These little groups of Masmouda, as we shall see, were able in 30 years to found a kingdom in the heart of the Atlas, then to conquer the Almoravide armies in the whole of the far Maghreb; finally to conquer, with the rest of North Africa, Musulman Spain.

The epic of the great Almohade chiefs, Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/ and ᶜAbd el Moumen /Abd-al-Mumin/, had as its first consequence that of giving the populations of the western Atlas for a century and a half a power /30/ and wealth that they had never known; but the effort of organizing the Almohade Empire, whose very special character we shall soon study, also contributed toward consolidating the structure of the social groups that were then settled in the Moroccan South.

The numerous historical documents that we possess on this epoch permit us to know the names and territories of these large tribes with sufficient precision. In the region of the passes of the Glawa and on the two versants of the Atlas, from the Dadès to Demnat /Demnate/, are the Heskoura, whose tribes, separated

/30 cont./

*175 today, have nevertheless kept up to the present the same territory as of old. In the West come the Hintata, vanished now, then the Gedmiwa, still in place west of the Nefis; the Genfisa, of whom the Seksawa nowadays represent the most active group; finally the Haha, in the vicinity of the Ocean, whose habitat has undergone only a slight change.

Moreover, from the twelfth century on we see foreigners from the plain of the Sous or from that of Marrakech, such as the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Ergita, as well as fractions of Zenata or Doukkala /Dukkala/, take their place beside the Almohade tribes. One might believe that they were groups driven from their habitat by the invasions from the plains or even sometimes political emigrants who had taken refuge in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

[113]

1. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'histoire Almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., Paris, 1928, pp. 64-65.

On the lower course of the Sous wadi, Mesgina, Ksima, and Chtouka lived in places near the ones that they still occupy. In the Anti-Atlas, south of Taroudant, we already find grouped around the Arghen the tribes of the Ida Ou Nadif, Indouzal, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri. Farther to the East the Ait Waouzgit surrounded the Sirwa, while on the two versants of the central Atlas move the innumerable tribes of the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/.

When the empire founded by the Masmouda was consolidated, the large autochthonous families in their ensemble had already taken their present place in the country. Scarcely in the plains of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, the Berghwata ended up by disappearing under the blows of the Almohades themselves, while in the Anti-Atlas the mounting tide of the Gezzoula continued to threaten the peace of the sedentary peoples of the Sous valley.

*175 /31/ So we see, up to the end of the twelfth century, the peopling of Morocco taking place little by little, under aspects that the present-day distribution of the tribes still permits finding again. It is true that up to here it is Berbères /Berbers/ who are disputing the possession of the land. Only a few Arabs, who came from Orient or from Andalusia, are settling in the towns. The Occident in the time of the Almohades still remains the almost exclusive domain of the old African race, while for two centuries already the great wave of Hilalian invasions has been overturning Ifriqiya and the central Maghreb.

III. *The domination and the decline of the Arabs.* -- It was in the reign of Ya^{c}qoub el Mansour /Ya^{c}qub al-Mansur/ that the Arab tribes deported by the Almohade ruler after having fomented revolts in Ifriqiya appear in Morocco for the first time in 1187 (1).

The first Mussulman conquest, led by Oqba ben Nafi^{c} /Okba ibn-Nafi/, had brought, as is known, only minute ethnic changes in western Berbérie /Barbary/. More important because of their consequences were the successive deportations of the Hilalian tribes, transplanted into the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/ and into the territory of the Berghwata by order of the Almohade caliphates. It is then that true tribes were constituted in the search for an eventual habitat: these are the Jochem, in the northern plains, in the vicinity of the Loukkos; the Beni Jabir, in the land of the Tadla; the Atbej, neighbors of the Doukkala /Dukkala/, and, closer to the Atlas, penetrating onto Berbère soil among the Haha, the Haret and the Nader. These nomadic groups were not to cease moving in the midst of the sedentary tribes in the course of the following centuries, until they in turn decided to settle in the plains of the north.

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[113] 1. G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie* /The Arabs in Barbary/, Paris, 1913, p. 200 and *passim*.

/31 cont./

*175 The conquest of power by the Mérinide /Marinide/ Zénètes in itself does not alter appreciably the peopling of the Moroccan South; but at the same time, at the end of the thirteenth century, a terrible tempest blew over this whole region, the effects of which will not be dissipated for 300 years: the invasion of the Maᶜqil Arabs.

The Maᶜqil, of unknown origin, without doubt younger brothers of the Hilalians, whose tracks in the desert they follow from the south of Ifriqiya, are then nomadizing in the steppes of the Moulouya. About /32/ 1250 ᶜAli Ibn Yedder, a minor Almohade chief from the upper valley of the Sous, having rebelled against the last successors of ᶜAbd el Moumen, calls upon these Arabs in order to make up an army and drive the Gezzoula out of the Anti-Atlas. An imprudent step, which soon attracts to the first allies of ᶜAli Ibn Yedder innumerable families from the desert: entire tribes invaded the country; the Chebbanat spread to the north of the river of the Sous, the Dwi Hassan to the south. When the Mérinides take power about 1275, the Maᶜqil are already powerful enough to pay them a tribute of 18,000 camels after a defeat (1). Except during the short periods of the domination of the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, they are the true masters of the South.

The mass of the Maᶜqil tribes, ceaselessly increasing, overwhelms the Sous plain; soon the little nomadic Berbère /Berber/ tribes, Lamta, Zeggen, Lakhes, who live to the south of the Haha, find themselves absorbed by the Chebbanat, while the Dwi Hassan drive back the Gezzoula. Some Hilalian elements, of the Sofian /Sofyan/ coming from the northern plain and who form the tribes of the Haret and Kelabiya, cross the coastal zone and come as far as the Sous valley to pasture their flocks. Finally, in the fourteenth century the Berbères /Berbers/ everywhere are no more than confederates of the Arabs; and when the Chebbanat and Dwi Hassan, settled on both sides of the river, weigh their forces, each side is

(1) Ibn Khaldoun, I. p. 132.

/32 cont./

* 175 seen to carry in its wake the Berbère /Berber/ groups from its territory.

Nevertheless, the Arabs' supremacy in the Sous valley could not continue. Incapable of sustaining a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom -- we see them in fact precipitate the ruin of the Beni Yedder -- powerless to bring forth from the bosom of their tribes torn by family quarrels a chief who controls them, they had no role other than to foster anarchy. Moreover, living in a region unsuitable for nomadism, surrounded by mountains that had remained in the hands of the sedentary peoples, they were condemned in advance to disappear as a result of the efforts the Berbères /Berbers/ were making in order to ensure their possession of arable lands.

In the course of the darkness of the fifteenth century, that long period on which we do not possess any historical document, the ruin of the Maʿqil is indeed consummated. Nothing permits us to know the /33/ successive phases of this reversal of the opposing forces (1). But when the Sous reappears in the light of history at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the peopling of the Moroccan South has been almost entirely accomplished in the form that we know at present, with a marked preponderance of Berbère /Berber/ elements.

In the course of the following centuries, the evolution is accentuated; the desert tends to become again the true habitat of the Arabs. While their groups permanently established on the irrigated plains of the Sous wadi, of the Dra, and of Marrakech let themselves be won over by the habits of sedentary life, all while still retaining, when they form whole tribes, a social and political life that distinguishes them from the Berbères /Berbers/, farther to the South on the Moyen /middle/ Dra, the Noun /Nūn/, and the Seguiet el Hamra assemble those who in our day are called the Oulad Maʿgel -- descendants of the ancient

1. L. Massignon, op. cit., p. 132.

/33 cont./

*175 Ma^cqil -- faithful to the age-old traditions of nomadism. The Sahara, where their numerous flocks of sheep and their camels live, has remained their true fatherland, and in the oases that are found there they content themselves with exploiting the work of the haraten /Haratin/ in miserable qsour. It is only during bad years that they, with their families and their animals, are seen entering the interior plain of the Sous and the Azaghar /plain; see p. 155, footnote 1/ of Marrakech by isolated groups, when they humbly come to ask the sedentary peoples for a temporary refuge. Sometimes in these periods of famine a few of them allow themselves to be attracted by the security -- very relative, to be sure -- of sedentary life in the country of the Chtouka or the Haha. One village of Oulad Ben Seba^c /Oulad Bu Seba/, of Oulad Dlim /Oulad Delim/, is founded, which still maintains active relations with the desert during the first generations. But the new arrivals are quickly won over to the local customs. One century is enough to make these miserable Arabs similar in the way of life, religious and magical practices, and even language to the Berbères /Berbers/ among whom they have settled.

In the seventeenth century the preferred domain of the Arabs remains the valley of the Oued /wadi/ Sous, where the Oulad Yahya and Menabha, descendants of the Ma^cqil, are settled today, mixed at present with the Howara, Arabized Berbères /Berbers/, whom the Saadians may have brought into this region.

Other large Ma^cqil tribes, the Ahlaf and the ^cAmarnat /34/ in the fourteenth century live in the steppes that border the Haut Dra. In the same way as the Hilalians from the land of the Tadla, they will mix with the Heskoura Berbères /Berbers/ and the Seddrata, Arabized Berbères, who are found in our day on the Haut-Dra and the Dadès. These Arabs moreover have remained foreigners to the country for a long time; in this capacity they are always ready to enter the service of pretenders, of agitators, or even of Christians. Portuguese policy in the sixteenth century relied on the Ma^cqil of the Sous and the Dra; intrigues will be established from Santa Cruz, the present-day town of

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Oulad Yahya of the Khela Tifernin, the ᶜArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons; by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maᶜqil formerly was.

*175 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling
167 of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue
174 to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of [101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives,

/35 cont./

*175 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have
167 thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in
174 regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, set-
101 tled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Aït Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Aït Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït ᶜAisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohe-
*175 sion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan
648 South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the maraboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do
[101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes;
who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
*631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1):

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

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829 1. Masqueray describes a similar situation
[113] in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the pos-
session of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/37 cont./

632 162 activity is paralyzed by the presence of a sizable Israelite colony -- 12,000 inhabitants, more than half of the total population -- remain confined in the lower occupations and do not get to play the role of citizens.

000 Finally, Taroudant rises in a favorable site among gardens fertilized by the water of the river, in the middle of the triangular plain bordered by the Atlas and Anti-Atlas. The crossing of two great natural roads, that of the very valley of the Sous and the route from the oases of Aqqa and Tisint to the Tizi n Test and Marrakech, makes a center destined, it seems, by the general layout of the land, to become a true Berbère /Berber/ capital. Moreover, this town takes the place of another identical city, Igli, vanished since the epoch of the Almohades. Nevertheless, Taroudant has remained above all the residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, the seat of the Arab governors. Ruined and sacked more than ten times in the course of history, it has been most often repopulated, thanks to foreigners, Arabs, black slaves, and Riffians, and at present one finds behind its /38/ old crenelated walls only 8,000 inhabitants confined in a miserable existence.

The Sous has formerly known other cities of lesser importance that were doubtless spontaneous creations of the autochthons and lived exclusively under Berbère /Berber/ laws. Such were probably Aghmat and Nefis at the foot of the northern Dir of the Atlas. But they were simple village-like agglomerations established around a market in prosperous olive groves, as Amismiz /Amizmiz/ and Imi n Tanout are today. The leaders of the first dynasties of the South, the Maghrawa and Idrissites /Idrisids/, applied themselves to developing and beautifying them, until the time when the founding of Marrakech by the Almoravides brought about little by little their economic and political decline. [361] [443]

Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ describes to us also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, other small towns in which the inhabitants sheltered their harvests and which were

/38 cont./

000 surrounded by ramparts of dry stone (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I. pp. 134-235.

Such were the small fortresses of the Haha, grouped especially on the edges of the Qsob wadi and the Tensift, which disappeared under the combined effort of the Arabs and Portuguese. Each of them had several thousand inhabitants who governed themselves according to the same rules as are observed in our day by the independent mountain tribes. One might ask, moreover, whether the existence of these small cities is not explained above all by the dire necessity in which the sedentary plains people found themselves, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, of defending their goods and their harvests against the attacks of the nomads. Subsequently, when the Arabs had stopped stirring up the country by their incursions, were dispersed among the Berbère tribes and attached to the soil in their turn, one no longer saw reappearing the small towns "girded with rough stone" that the Portuguese wars had caused to disappear and whose usefulness moreover no longer made itself felt; the whole population has been dispersed since then in the same region in detached houses and in minuscule hamlets, as we can easily observe today.

361 In the absence of big towns in which the Berbères are only strangers, or small cities that did not withstand the war, in our day the Sous knows no sizable centers other than the ones that appear at the very foot of the Atlas, on the line of the /39/ springs or at the beginning of the highways of the Deren; such are, for example, Amismiz, Imi n Tanout, Mneizla, Bou L^{c}ajlat and Talekjont, whose prosperity depends on the wealth of their crops and the activity of their markets at the junction point of the plain and mountain. But these big villages, whose population reaches a thousand inhabitants, are most often made up of several distinct quarters, separate hamlets that constitute small

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361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often bear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578] [619]

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/footnote 2 continued/ is prolonged, most often following war with the Arab tribes of the vicinity, each one returns to his mountain house, within which he always carefully stores his provisions.

The same arrangement of associated villages of mountain and plain exists on the Dir of the north of the Anti-Atlas, among the Chtouka.

In the narrow valleys of the Atlas the poorness of the soil, the exiguity of the fields laid out in little terraces cannot suffice to support a numerous population. People then scatter in small hamlets of ten to twenty hearths, which are strung along the torrents, separated by a distance of two or three kilometers and sometimes more. These groupings of houses are customarily tiered on the valley slopes. Their site is not always /40/ an emplacement favorable for defense, because in a country where the difficulties of access are so great, one does not have to fear attack by strangers and the only peril comes from internal struggles. Also, the exposure of the houses to the sun, the proximity of the crops, the necessities of sheltering the flocks, of storage of grain, of the use of threshing floors are, for the founding of the hamlets, circumstances that prevail over the concern for security. Only the leaders, in order to defend themselves from their subjects more often than from their enemies, are preoccupied with building enclosures and high towers.

By contrast, in the regions of easy access, on the mountainous plateaus of the Anti-Atlas or in the land of the Haha, the hamlets must watch over their own security. They surround themselves with thick hedges of jujube trees and protect themselves with watchtowers or defense posts. When the houses, in groups of two or three, rise up on the summit of the hills, they become veritable little fortresses with thick walls, with narrow loopholes, and the families who live in them, linked by bonds of blood, can assist one another and endure a long siege.

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

[243] Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Aït Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

/41 cont./

621 security. Likewise, a big village is only the union of several
592 hamlets. Each of them belongs to a separate family group, and it often suffices, in order to know the number of these small elementary social units that constitute a little Berbère republic, to count on the spot the number of separate quarters (1).

361 712 1. In the vicinity of the desert in the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and the Bani, in the middle Dra and the Dadès, it is common to observe the existence of large qsars /fortified places/, whose houses draw nearer and mutually protect one another. Often, even, the village is surrounded by a ram-
[162] part; here the proximity of the nomads, the division of the population into haraten /Haratin/ agriculturalists and Arab or Berbère /Berber/ pastoralists -- who often play the role of protectors -- modify considerably the conditions of existence that we have observed in the interior of the province of the Sous.

361 The urban character of the construction of the
712 qsars has often been noted. It even seems that there
341 exist in the Dra and the Dadès a particular architec-
184 tural tradition and a technique more skillful and per-
342 fected than in all the Moroccan South. It is doubtless to the artistic influence of the Dra that is owed the beautiful "tighremt" /fortified houses/ found at Telwet and among the Imeghran.

The most famous builders of these "tighremt" as well as of the lordly casbahs of the Atlas come from the tribe of the Aït Bou Yahya, north of Tisint.

342 VII. The house. -- There does not exist, it is scarcely nec-
184 essary to say here, a "Berbère /Berber/ house" of uniform type, whose disposition might be contrasted to that of the "Arab house." The plan, the construction, the arrangement of the dwelling of the Sous agriculturalist differ according to whether it is detached

/41 cont./

342 184 [642] or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains, in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops. Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Exterior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth [789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1); the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

[231] [414] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock, flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse. [592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a household.

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1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

184 /42 cont./
342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
[574] ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of
small, separate units to which one has access from the outside.
They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay;
their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.
[231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands
up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part
is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The
entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear for-
eign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by
a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening,
serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the thresh-
ing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and
humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the
regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loop-
holes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the
inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Fi-
nally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of
pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the
nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a
slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[251] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[233] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[857] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and
[462] send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

/43 cont./

621 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of
613 a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and
agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of
"ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively,
which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually
592 the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he
613 is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are es-
[595] tablished near him. Foreigners who have come into the country
as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three
[622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is
formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of
this new hamlet.

613 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together
in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives
561 apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and
562 son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men
and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which
have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to
[771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain
attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most an-
562 cient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).
443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often
[788] assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of
[543] which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to
[527] Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two
[831] groups.

/44 cont./

562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.
565 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/.
792 These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

/45 cont./

565 563 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, particularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1), still without being completely lost in the "ᶜamma." In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the [463] [326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or craftsmen, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high [567] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ᶜamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

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1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying [538] [581] light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

/46 cont./
565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center
that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the
South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra
among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence
of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several
centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in
the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the conquest
797 of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the
Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted
for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient
villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes
serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized
by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult conditions
433 under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great
expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can
pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is
the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in
the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the
springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the
small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of
the bottom of the large valleys.

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it
[731] did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in
the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- ex-
cept at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the
Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they
carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the
Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
439 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
182 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
177 objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the
[631] power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent com-
munities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the
tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in
two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
184 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
182 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

177 In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which
dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats
or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of
cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a
hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, com-
pletes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa
there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions
are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of
mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all de-
scendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[306] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any
[178] doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already
been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured
goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as
far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons
[464] to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to
France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits
511 in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of
wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of
the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the
introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material
existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar
to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./
556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining
in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history
will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly
subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages
whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this
country has been crowned with success, and one would look in
vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are
observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, accompanied
[798] besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères
/Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the
narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from
their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints manifests
776 itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the
confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of
the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups possesses
776 its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanctuaries,
778 those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./
776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong
to very large social groups made up of one or several confederations.
[782] It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating
[778] the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness
is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts
and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully
by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes
manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/50 cont./
771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with
a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day
these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
771 liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
789 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning
escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to
play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role
in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered
the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the
jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest
way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny
jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
789 regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and
mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death
or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/
ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful
at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret re-
cesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of
the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
[787] Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing,
in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the
other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is
nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of
the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/51 cont./

789 deliver to men their treasures hidden in the ground and their prodigious riches (1).

[113] 1. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord /Magic and Religion in North Africa/, Algiers, 1909, pp. 220-306.

789 In this way magic allows itself to be penetrated little by
771 little by religious influences. Consequently it can be said, if one excepts a few practices whose importance is manifest especially in domestic and family life, that in the Sous the cloak of Islam almost completely covers the survivals from the time of "jahiliya" -- of pagan ignorance. There is no ceremony,
[782] initiation, rejoicing, war council, peace treaty, discussion for the choice of a leader which does not begin and end with an invocation to God, to his Prophet, and to one of the two great saints of the Sous: Moulay Brahim of the Kik, on the frontier of the North of Berbère /Berber/ country, and Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, patron of travelers and head of the family of the kings of the Gezzoula.

197 XII. The intellectual life. -- Islamization did not entail the decline of the Berbère /Berber/ language, whose vitality does not cease to manifest itself and which continues to express the particular genius of the inhabitants of the Sous. The Arab tribes themselves, settled in the central valley, understand the speech of the montagnards, and the small groups of the descendants of the Maᶜqil of the Sahara, who come to settle in the plain of the Chtouka and the Haha, soon forget their Bedouin dialect in order to adopt the one of the country. Arabic, however, is understood by the traders, the agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and all those, whose number is increasing today, whom temporary emigration /52/ carries into the tribes and towns of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[554] But it is not rare still to find old scholars, of repute in the know-
[212] ledge of religion and law, who read the language of the Koran

/52 cont./

197 [554] [212] easily and yet, for expressing themselves, are incapable of using the Arab ways of speaking employed in all the rest of the Empire by the true subjects of the Sultan.

Moreover, the struggle goes on without truce between the two languages, Arabic and Berbère /Berber/. In that duel the former presents the advantage of being the vehicle of a universal civilization and of lending itself to the expression of religious or political thought. The latter holds so closely to the popular spirit and by such strong ties that long centuries have not yet been able to succeed in destroying it.

It is necessary to ask the study of this Berbère /Berber/ language, still so alive in the Sous, to make us acquainted with the essential aspects of the humble primitive civilization of the tribes. Thus the archaism of the grammatical forms suggests to linguists valuable comparisons with the state of the Indo-European languages in the most remote times that we can reach and bears witness to the obstinate spirit of conservatism and tradition that the study of the rites and beliefs also makes so evident. The incapacity for abstraction is shown by the use of a concrete vo- [192] cabulary even in expressing feelings. Thus courage is expressed by "tasa" (the liver), warlike ambition by "ifadden" (the knees) (1).

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1. The knees are used by the horseman to keep himself in the saddle; the leader is compared to the horseman, the subject tribe to the horse.

192 At the same time, the aptitude, so characteristic of Berbérie /Barbary/, for borrowing from foreign civilizations is manifest in the introduction of the newest words: mandate, bank, automobile have already taken their places in the vocabulary of the Chleuhs /Shluh/.

538 Finally, nothing gives the measure of the virtues and faults of the race better than the art of the poets and storytellers. Incapable of singing epics, whose composition would go beyond their

/52 cont./
538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention
of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three
lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep
the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not
yet dried out.

[517] It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/
/53/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one
must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" --
[534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled
and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets.
[533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze
timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing
the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more
often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For
us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are
filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at
once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love,
and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed
[181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the
taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial
power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of
wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets
the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan
South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life
that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still
today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the
Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy,
the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous
are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their
small states and their political transformations lets one perceive
analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway
time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the
Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the
Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

/53 cont./

181 [171] and development of the ancient cities of the Occident; likewise, we shall see appearing here, in the bosom of the tribes, leaders similar to the tyrants of the earliest times in Greece, who, like them, will succeed in founding their principalities on the ruins of small, dominated and subjugated republics.

In truth, the deep vitality of the western world at the time of its origin is lacking in Berbérie /Barbary/; the great myths capable of associating the local cults with the brilliant destinies of the gods of the cities have always remained unknown there; one only finds with difficulty in these miserable market towns of North Africa /54/ a few traces of an art without delicacy and from which imagination and feeling seem to be absent. Decoration, the technique of the jewels, arms, fabrics remain rudimentary and seem imprisoned in a fixed tradition that is preserved within the narrow limits of a tribe or valley. Thought alone crosses vaster spaces and the poets' improvisations, repeated at great distances, express the popular soul in a form not always unworthy of being compared with the elegiac verses of seventh-century Greece. But Berbère /Berber/ life most often remains attached to the earth of a village; its humble desires can be satisfied within the boundaries of a canton. Consequently one understands that in studying the political evolution of the tribes there is manifest to us the powerlessness of men to found true kingdoms unless influences foreign to the genius of the race come into play to break the numerous cadres of their little states divided by internal struggles. Left to themselves, the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the South of Morocco know only how to sketch the first phases of the founding of empires: the conquest of the tribe by a fortunate military leader.

For lack of poetic religions born in the cities, which, by means of festivals and games, achieved the unity of the Greek world, it is Islam that brings the idea of the State here. This strict and formalistic religion first pursues with infinite patience the ruin of the ancient beliefs so deeply bound to local life; it gives to men of various countries, opposed by unyielding interests, the same duties and the same language; finally, it comes to

/54 cont./

181 favor submission to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the recognition by the independent communities of a government by divine right, alone able to finish by its political work the rough shape, always incomplete, of Berbère /Berber/ royalty.

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Chapter III

The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Origins to the Fifteenth Century

I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- III. The thrust of the Almoravide Senhaja. -- IV. The Masmoudian epic of the Almohades. -- V. A Berbère /Berber/ organization at the base of an empire. -- VI. The elements of resistance. -- VII. The breakup of the Almohade Empire. -- VIII. The Mérinide domination in the Sous. -- IX. The organization of the tribes of the Atlas under the Mérinides. -- X. A great kaid in the fourteenth century. -- XI. The independent kingdom of the Sous.

*175 Trying to write without gaps or obscurity the history of a province of Morocco in the course of the centuries, by calling on all the Arabic texts, European archives, and accounts of travelers, would be a vain enterprise that the most patient research could not enable one to carry out. This is because the documents available to us for knowing the past are inadequate both in number and worth.

First of all, the sources, abundant at certain epochs, are, on the other hand, entirely lacking at other periods. For example, history is masked in the first centuries of Islam by legends whose meaning and value escape us; it is illuminated at other times, from the beginning of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century, by the glory of the Almohade and Mérinide /Marinide/ dynasties, then is obscured anew at the time of the great anarchical struggles of the tribes during the whole fifteenth century and at the middle of the seventeenth century, after the fall of the Saadians.

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Later, when Morocco closes its frontiers and lives apart from the western world, the rare writers who still consent to keep the chronicle of the events happening in an already ruined Empire hardly merit the name of historians; they limit their effort /56/ to vindication of the sovereigns or base their judgments on the rules of a narrow religious formalism (1).

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1. E. Lévi-Provençal, Les Historiens des Chorfa /The Historians of the Shorfa/, Paris, p. 21 and sqq.

Moreover, all the books that the Arab authors left to us show only the most official aspect of the institutions as they might appear to the learned men of the towns, faithful servants of the Makhzen /makhzan/; they almost never tell us the policy of the leaders, the reaction of the tribes, the struggle of the influences among which the power is divided up in a region often abandoned to anarchy. The European texts are more precise and sometimes contain valuable information, but they are rarely the work of travelers experienced enough to have penetrated deeply into the obscure and complicated workings of Berbère /Berber/ politics.

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Under these conditions it is useless to hope to succeed in knowing, in all their development, the great political movements that have disturbed the life of the Moroccan South, since we would not know how to interpret with certainty the documents that are available to us or to put them together in sufficient number to draw an exact enough picture of the past. It will suffice for us to choose here, from among the number of limited facts whose recital has reached us, those that are most fraught with meaning, to esteem them for what they are worth, and to tie them together, in order to sketch in large strokes the curve of an evolution whose more precise variations we must give up knowing. The general view at which we shall thus arrive will perhaps suffice to bring to light some of the permanent characteristics of the social life and will help us to understand the present better.

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*175 I. *The ancient history of the Sous.* -- We know almost nothing about the history and ancient geography of the Sous before Islam. The periplus of Hannon /Hanno/, as we have said, only permits us to imagine what the populations of the far Sous might have been, Ethiopians, Lixites and Troglodytes, in the fifth century before our era. It is known that the Roman occupation of Mauretania Tingitana did not extend into the north of Morocco beyond the plain of the Gharb /Rharb/, since the "limes" stopped in the vicinity of Rabat. Beyond, there was doubtless nothing but guard posts for the protection of merchants. Farther toward the South the "Promontorium /57/ Solis," where the Phoenicians had formerly set up an altar to Poseidon, can still be identified with Cape Cantin, but already in the time of Strabon /Strabo/ the trading posts founded by Hannon /Hanno/ had disappeared without leaving any traces (1).

Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/ alone can enable us to know, with a great dearth of details, under what aspects this mysterious coast of the Moroccan South then appeared to foreign navigators. The "Getules Autololes" were living between the littoral and the Atlas; then came the river Qosenus and the Selatites, perhaps on the banks of the Sous; the Masates and their river, which we can identify with the wadi Massat; the valley of the river Darat, our Dra of today, peopled with Daratite Ethiopians. Still farther it was the Perorsis Ethiopians with whom the traders made exchanges, while other Gétules, the Dariens, stayed in the interior of the continent (2).

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[113] 1. Hérodote /Herodotus/ IV, 43, 184; *Périple d'Hannon* /Periplus of Hanno/. Cf. text in Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens* /Morocco in the Works of the Ancient Authors/, Paris, 1924, pp. 16-17.

2. The Autolole and Darien "Getules" are

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/footnote 2 continued/ perhaps Igezzoulen of the tribe of the Aït Ouloul (?) and Igezzoulen of the Dra.

As for the Atlas, the "Deren" or "Deris," its distance and the marvels that manifested themselves there put it outside the range of exploration by men. Watered by gushing springs, in gardens where marvelous fruits grew, during the day it did not seem to contain inhabitants. But at night, on the contrary, it was covered with fires. The aegipans /fabulous inhabitants of Libya, according to Pliny/ and the satyrs gave themselves over to their dances, while the flutes, the Panpipe, the noise of drums and cymbals mysteriously filled the air with their harmonies and din (3).

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3. Pline l'Ancien /Pliny the Elder/, Book V. Cf. text in Roget, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- When the companion of the Prophet Oqba ben Nafi^{c}, with the aid of the Zenètes, conquered the far Maghreb in 690, it was in the Sous on the already famous banks of Massat that the conqueror came to affirm the completion of his work in a manner that legend has expressed symbolically. Having, it is said, no more men to subdue and convert, he urged his horse into the Ocean in order to greet the fish, subjects of the prophet Jonas.

The Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous, like their brothers of the North, embraced /58/ the doctrines of the Kharedjites /Khawarij/, in order to fight better against their new masters. Punished by ^{c}Obeid Allah Ibn el Habbab, they rebelled again under the direction of a military leader, Maisara, in order to be delivered from the tyranny of the Arab governors.

In spite of its conversion to Islam, the South of Morocco doubtless remained still subject to Judeo-Christian influences, and one can also believe that the old magico-religious practices of

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*175 ancient Libya kept a strong hold on the mind. But while in the center of the Maghreb, in the land of the Berghwata, these ancient ferments were to favor the creation of a heretical kingdom guided by priest-kings, depositaries of a Berbère /Berber/ Koran, when false prophets -- such as Ha-Mim and his family -- on the shores of the Mediterranean were going to lead the Ghomara into impious practices and earn for them the punishment of God for centuries, the success of the new religion was soon affirmed in the Sous. The ardor of the converts there became such, according to Mussulman writers, that this region did not delay in becoming the blessed land of the scholars and the favorite place for theological contentions between rival sects.

Later, when Idris the Fatimite had founded an Empire in Fez and made the dogma of the political pre-eminence of the shorfa /shurfa/ recognized from that time on, the Sous found itself constituting, in the partition of Morocco, a veritable kingdom. Thus it was that ^{c}Abdallah, son of Idris II, became king of Aghmat, of the Nefis, of the country of the Masmouda and Lamta, that is to say, of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. In the eleventh century people were still attributing to this sovereign the founding of the town of Tamedelt near a silver mine between the wadi Dra and Igli of the Sous; in the same period a heretical tribe was referring to a king they had had, Abouʾl Qasem Idris, grandson of ^{c}Abdallah, and soon the tribe of the Semlala, who also claims as ancestor the Idrisite sovereign of the Sous, began to assert, in the name of their origins, political claims that they have not renounced up to our day (1).

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1. El Bekri /al-Bakri/, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* /Description of Northern Africa/, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 303-308; Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, Vol. I, pp. 212-216, 237, 238; Fournel, *Les Berbères* /The Berbers/, Paris, 1857-1875, pp. 270-272; Ibn Hauqal /ibn-Hawqal/, de Goeje tr.; de Slane trans., *Journal Asiatique*, 1842, p. 67.

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*175 In spite of this progress of sherifism, the Sous then was doubtless not entirely peaceful or orthodox, people indulged in furious /59/ combats even into the mosques; the use of fermented beverages was constant, and it was even said that in the mountains, in a region near the one inhabited at present by the Ida ou Izimmer, the tribes secretly worshiped a ram, probable vestige of a Libyc cult (1).

[619] 1. The fraction of the Ida Ou Izimmer -- in Berbère /Berber/, the sons of the ram -- in our day is part of the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the North of Taroudant. Cf. H. Basset, Quelques notes sur l'Ammon Libyque /"Some Notes on the Libyc Ammon"/ (Mélanges R. Basset /R. Basset Miscellany/, Paris, 1923). [113]

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the rigorists sometimes hurled anathema on the Atlas of the Masmouda and that people repeated the hadith by which the Prophet announced that on the day of the resurrection all this region would be "led into hell with all its inhabitants just as the bride is led to her husband" (2).

[113] 2. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. I, p. 563.

At least the Moroccan South seems to us at this epoch, before the disorders caused by the conquests of the Almoravides, to be a prosperous region, well cultivated and peopled with towns. There were, to the north of the Atlas, on both sides of the mountain of the Kik, Neffis, the town with the gardens, and Aghmat, the Idrisite capital, which had been governed previously by Berbère /Berber/ magistrates changed each year; on the South versant, Igli and Taroudant, at the intersection of the mountain routes, Tamedelt in the Anti-Atlas, Massat in the plain and on the Noun /Nun/, the oases of Noul Lemta and Ifri. The coast was actively

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*175 frequented by the navigators from the Mediterranean and Portugal, between Gouz at the mouth of the Tensift and Oulili in Mauritania, and from this remote epoch the "Sousi" would gain the reputation of clever trader and hard worker, which he has kept up to our day (3).

3. Ibn Hauqal, ibid., p. 81; El Bekri, ibid., pp. 291, 292, 305, 308; Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 70-71; Kitab el Istibçar, Fagnan tr., p. 191.

III. The thrust of the Almoravide Senhaja. -- We have already told (4)

4. Cf. above, Ch. II, p. 40.

how the very rapid conquest of Spain, carried out by nomadic Lemtouna Berbères /Berbers/, Senhaja coming from the Sudan, was explained not only by an extremely powerful and energetic military effort, capable of breaking up the cadres of the small Berbère states with a single blow, but also by the natural alliance of all the Senhaja peoples scattered on the frontiers of the territory of the Masmouda. In the Anti-Atlas the Lamta became the auxiliaries of the Lemtouna. Carried far away with them by the work of conquest and holy war, they made room in the Moroccan South, it seems, /60/ for the Igezzoulen, themselves coming from the desert, who also became the natural adversaries of the sedentary peoples already established on the banks of the Sous.

There is no doubt but that the Almoravide conquest, made in the name of the purest Islam, was a harsh trial for the Masmouda. The towns of Massat, Taroudant, Aghmat, already subject to the Beni Ifran from the land of the Tadla, succumbed successively, then the Lemtouna subdued the tribes, visiting all the innermost recesses of the Atlas. But Yousef ben Tachfin /Yusuf ibn-Tashfin/ doubtless met with such difficulties in subjugating the

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*175 montagnards that he decided to found a new town (1062) away from their undertakings. In the middle of a plain then uncultivated, but from the time of that occasion transformed into an orchard by the supply of water that had created the prosperity of Aghmat and Neffis, there thus rose Marrakech /Marrakesh/, protected by its remoteness from the foot of the Atlas from the attacks of the Masmouda (1).

1. El Bekri, ibid., pp. 315, 318.

IV. The Masmoudian epic of the Almohades. -- In 1121, when the Almoravide leaders and the princesses of the Lemtouna scandalized the true believers at Marrakech by the laxity of their Islam (2),

2. El Marrakchi, Histoire des Almohades, Fagnan trans., p. 154.

there appeared in this town a poor fqih / fakhi, f'khi/ from the Anti-Atlas, coming from Egypt, where he had gone, it was said, to collect from the Imam el Ghazzali the most perfect religious knowledge of his time. Surrounded by a few disciples, Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, who passed himself off as the reformer of the morals, was soon a cause of dissension and, to avoid the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ prison, he had to flee into the mountains of Aghmat. Soon this strange personage, whose austerity of life and theological passion never flagged for an instant during his ten years of political activity, succeeded in grouping companions around him, received the adherence of several tribes, and grew bold enough to wage audacious battles with the disciplined forces of the Almoravides of the plain. Four years later, having consolidated his power over his partisans, to whom he had given the name of "Almohadin" -- the partisans of the unity of God -- this new Mahdi set up an entrenched camp at Tinmellel in the high valley of the Asif Nefis. Soon a veritable kingdom had been formed around the reformer's mosque.

*175 /61/ The death of Ibn Toumert in 1130 and a bloody defeat of his partisans in Marrakech could not stop the movement thus launched. A believer from the first hour, ᶜAbd el Moumen el Goumi /Abd-al-Mumin/, originally from a tribe near Oran, having taken over the government of the Masmoudian tribes with a firm hand after the death of the Mahdi, the Sous, the western and central Atlas, and the North of Morocco successively fell into the hands of the Almohades; finally, after twenty years of fierce wars, most often in the mountains, the Almoravide armies yielded, exhausted, and the taking of Marrakech in 1147 came to crown this surprising triumph. ᶜAbd el Moumen, carried away by his victories, immediately completed his work; he successively took possession of Spain, the central Maghreb, and Ifriqiya. Thanks to the unstinted support given to this religious movement by the populations of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, an immense Empire was founded for the benefit of the Masmouda. The solidity of the conquest was such that, for more than a century, under the glorious reigns of Abou Yaᶜqoub Yousef, Yaᶜqoub el Mansour /Yaᶜqub al-Mansur/, and Mohammed en-Naser, the Almohade Empire was to resist the forces of dispersion, so powerful in North Africa, and preserve intact until the time of El Mansour the religious teaching and the traditions of the Mahdi.

People have often tried to explain the irresistible success of this conquest, the stability and the order of the Empire thus built, by the religious faith communicated by the Mahdi to his believers. It is certain that such a union of forces, a discipline both rigorous and constant, was impossible in Berbère /Berber/ country without the existence of a lasting enthusiasm capable of making the internal divisions disappear, the presence of which keeps the tribes in a state of perpetual weakness. The character of Almohade art, so stable and spontaneous, proceeds, on the other hand, to give us evidence of a high ideal of greatness, strength, and simplicity, which the Maghreb has never found again in the course of the centuries, any more than it has since been able to manifest so resolute an energy in its warlike undertakings.

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But it is no less interesting to try to understand in the light of documents recently brought to light (1) by what means was ensured, in the heart of the state of the Masmouda, the solidity of a foundation on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could make rest with so much /62/ success the government of the immense territory of which he had taken possession with the support of a few thousand ignorant montagnards.

In the first period of the Almohade penetration the tribes of the Deren could actually constitute an intact reserve of intrepid fighters, but they were not at all prepared to play the grandiose role that the Mahdi dreamed of for them. Hintata, Gedmiwa, Genfisa, Ait Tinmellel, who formed the large Masmoudian tribes, were then only names by which was designated an aggregate of little isolated cantons like the ones found in our day in the highest regions of the Atlas. Most of these fractions formed minuscule republics, at the head of which was put a "mezwar," doubtless similar to the "moqaddem," magistrate named for one year, who still today exercises the same functions in the same valleys. All the important decisions were made during general assemblies, and we see, at the origin of the movement, the considerable role played by these meetings of minor notables. It is the "jmaᶜa" /jemaa, djemaa/ of the Hintata that conclude the first alliances with Ibn Toumert; the "impeccable Imam" himself frequently assembles his believers in "agrao" -- a term that designates, in all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco, the "jmaᶜa" of all the men from one tribe constituted in order to deliberate jointly --; soon there will appear in the service of the Mahdi the council of ten, made up of his most reliable companions, as well as the council of fifty, in which all the tribes of the newborn state are represented. All these features indicate very well the republican

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, Lévi-Provençal tr. (Mémoires d'El Beidaq), Paris, 1928.

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*175 character of the first Almohade institutions, just as the familiar scenes of life, reported with simplicity by the chronicler El Beidaq, show the harsh existence of these warriors, fervent in combat, but envious, argumentative, free in their language to the point of being insolent, carried away by their egalitarian passion to defend their opinion in an assemblage, arms in hand, rather than to follow respectfully the advice of the most tested leaders (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, pp. 35-73.

In order to conquer the Almoravide armies and ensure the triumph of pure Islam over the "anthropomorphists" of the plains, it was necessary first of all to discipline the Masmouda. Ibn Toumert, doubtless advised /63/ by ʿAbd el Moumen, the true political and military leader of the enterprise, knew, with a particularly acute sense of the spirit of association of the Berbères /Berbers/, how to utilize the institutions of the tribes in order to give the internal organization of his kingdom solidity against any test.

V. A Berbère /Berber/ organization at the base of an empire. -- The first concern of the Mahdi was the establishment of an order of pre-eminence among the various allied tribes and a rigorously fixed hierarchy within each of them. This was the "Tamyiz" of the Almohades (1).

1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 53.

There it was originally a military institution and like the definitive sanction of an "order of battle," the notion of which was not unknown to the Berbères /Berbers/. The large confederations of

/63 cont./ The large confederations of
*175 the Moroccan South as a matter of fact in our day still have the
[631] custom of assembling their contingents and throwing them into combat in a succession exactly determined and known to all;
[726] doubtless it was already like that at the time of Ibn Toumert. From that time on it sufficed to utilize the secret penchant of these egalitarian montagnards for ceremonial, their taste for the theatrical spectacle, to bend them to a rigorous discipline. In the heart of the Atlas, in a verdant basin of the Nefis surrounded by the wooded crests of the Wichedden, the snowy mass of the Wanoukrim, the red mountains of the Tizi n Imiri, the Tinmellel camp then saw unfold innumerable defiles of the tribes destined to fix the tradition and found the institutions of the new kingdom. The order of succession was regulated by the services rendered for the sacred cause of the Mahdi; the first who came forward were the Hargha, brothers of his father; then the Tinmellel, brothers of his mother; then came the Hintata first to assemble, the Gedmiwa; finally the Genfisa, a little lukewarm and sometimes coming into the community against their will. The place of each notable and of each fraction was noted with care on registers kept by the comrades closest to the master. Thus the control of the army of the Mahdi and the titles of nobility of those who were to become the Almohade sheiks were established at the same time.

During the first years, for combat and the dividing up of the booty, the "Tamyiz" was the fundamental institution of the small State of the /64/ Masmouda. A test of the solidity of that hierarchy was soon made in a striking manner. After the death of the Mahdi, kept secret for three years, when the council of Ten had accepted as leader the foreigner ᶜAbd el Moumen, the tribes defiling before the new caliph in the prescribed order recognized him as their master, putting at his service an organized force that was going to enable him to bring about in twenty years the conquest of the Occident (1).

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1. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 137 and sqq.

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*175 ᶜAbd el Moumen, in continuing the founder's tradition, knew how to adapt that organization immediately to the new situation created by the rapid growth of the subject territory. The Heskoura, the Senhaja of the darkness and of the daylight /Fr. Senhaja de l'ombre et du midi/ took their places following the first tribes; after a few years, when the revolts among the Hargha had obliged the Caliph to call on his brothers from Oranie to make sure of his personal guard, the Goumiya also entered the "tamyiz" of the Almohades.

From the beginning the boldest innovation had been to make all the foreign elements -- comrades who had come from Egypt or various districts of North Africa -- disappear into the mass of the Masmouda by making them enter the tribe of the Hargha. This practice was continued by subsequently attaching to one of the five original tribes the populations of the regions conquered or won over. Thus a new crystallization of the tribes was brought about in an entirely original form by grouping the least reliable elements around a faithful nucleus. In this way the Hargha received the Inda Ou Zal, Ida Ou Nadif, Ida Ou Limit, Ida Ou Finis, Ida Ou Zeddout, Ida Ou Zekri from the north versant of the Anti-Atlas (2).

2. The fact that it is the tribes from the south of Taroudant who are then attached to the Hargha is enough, in our opinion, to show that the territory of the Mahdi's tribe of origin was indeed that of the Arghen, at present still settled in the Anti-Atlas not far from the Inda ou Zal.

[113] Cf. in the opposite sense H. Basset and Terrasse, Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924, p. 19.

The itineraries of the Almohade expeditions in the Sous valley confirm, insofar as they can be identified, the opinion that

*175 /64 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ makes the present-day tribe of the Arghen to the southeast of Taroudant the Mahdi's country of origin.

The Hintata and the Tinmellel divided between them the people of the Sous and the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, or incorporated the Aït Yighaz, the Aït Mzal, the Souktana. Later, when regular contingents, the "Ghozz," of foreign origin had been formed to participate in the distant operations that the Masmouda could not adequately carry out, the Caliph integrated them into each of the five tribes. /65/ A veritable bond of brotherhood, which perhaps was manifested by special ceremonies, at the very least by the right to take part in common meals, sanctioned that adoption. Soon, when the Empire grew, the officials of the Makhzen /makhzan/, from the talebs, the tax collectors, to the drum players and makers of money, each took his place in the cadres prepared by the "tamyiz," with an order and discipline that seems to us unique in the history, so unstable and troubled, of the Maghreb (1).

1. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, pp. 57, 71-73.

In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ what were the social consequences of such prodigious transformations produced on the customary conditions of Berbère /Berber/ life?

First of all, local resistance engendered by family rivalries disappeared completely in the heart of the kingdom of Tinmellel. In the course of the "Tamyiz" in a difficult period it had been necessary, even in the Mahdi's lifetime, to exclude hypocrites and swindlers from the Almohades and to put them to death. In this way, in the course of a severe forty-day examination, the five tribes were rid of all those who did not accept the new regime. One should not believe, however, that the Masmouda from then on lost the habit of independence and in every circumstance bent their heads before their new leaders. On the contrary,

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*175 they kept great freedom of direction during the whole period of the conquest. One could see the caliph himself bow to the common rules for the division of booty and wait his turn to choose captive virgins taken from the enemy. At the time of the taking of Marrakech, in order to go to collect a treasure said to be hidden in the courtyard of a house, it was necessary to send two men from each of six tribes in order to take possession of it; finally, in the course of the same events, when ᶜAbd el Moumen wanted to save from death a minor Almoravide prince for whom he had felt moved with pity, one of the combatants, Aboul Hasan ben Waggag, was not afraid to cry out in order to prevent him from doing it: "Hola! hola! Almohades, here is ᶜAbd el Moumen opposing us; he wants to raise lion cubs against us" (2).

2. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, p. 171.

Better than the strictness, the profitable sharing of the spoils of the defeated also contributed toward keeping the Masmouda warriors on the path that had been traced for them by the Mahdi. Soon these /66/ rude montagnards who formerly lived in low hovels covered with dry grass received fiefs in Andalusia and participated in the government of the conquered provinces with all the honors and advantages that were attached to it (1).

1. El Marrakchi, ibid., p. 290.

While Tinmellel was adorned with a magnificent mosque, the high valleys, to be sure, looked to constructing, thanks to the money collected outside, numerous and comfortable dwellings of those who had become Almohade sheiks. For the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ this was a period of abundance which the tribes remembered with nostalgia for a long time.

At the same time that the dividing up of the profits of governing an Empire was giving to the land of the Masmouda a prosperity that it had never known, the political role of the Almohade

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*175 sheiks' council did not cease to grow at the Sultan's court. From the time of the death of ᶜAbd el Moumen (1163) this assembly intervenes; one of his sons, Mohammed, is judged incapable of reigning and another proclaimed in his place, Abou Yaᶜqoub. Soon the leaders of the Hintata, having become powerful emirs, are going to govern the kingdom of Ifriqiya with their own forces, while their brothers remaining in the country will establish themselves solidly in the high valleys of the Dra (2).

2. El Marrakchi, ibid., p. 203.

VI. The elements of resistance. -- Well before the period of decline into which the Empire of the Masmouda began to enter starting from 1230, the domination established by ᶜAbd el Moumen, thanks to the support of the tribes of the Nefis, had not existed without entailing important reactions in the rest of the Sous.

First of all, the conquered tribes of the Maghreb had accepted with some difficulty the firm authority of the new caliph. So, just as a purge had been necessary to put swindlers and hypocrites out of the way, it had also been necessary to separate the good from the bad throughout the Empire. To get rid of all those who were slow in recognizing his absolute authority, ᶜAbd el Moumen had lists of denunciations drawn up, which amounted to death for more than 32,000 warriors in the various provinces. The Doukkala, the Regraga, the Haha, the Sous valley, the land of the Ingisat and Gezzoula in the Anti-Atlas contributed to these massacres at the rate of six to eight hundred victims per large tribe. /67/ This time, moreover, the Almohades served exclusively as executioners and "Allah helped them in the best way" to pacify the country and to stop the disturbances that were taking place there (1).

1. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, pp. 181-185.

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*175 In the high valleys of the western Atlas, accessible with difficulty because of the narrow defiles that command them, some fractions of the Seksawa and Gedmiwa, doubtless living near the summits of the Tichka, stayed away from the great religious movement in which all the rest of the mountains had been involved (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, p. 269.

It is there that independent chiefs were soon to appear, the most powerful of whom, ᶜOmar Seksawi, was going to dare, after the ruin of the Almohade Empire, to take the title of "agellid" or Berbère /Berber/ king. Likewise, the Masmouda near the coast remained very lukewarm for a long time and the ethnics of the Haha, of the Regraga, of the Mtougga scarcely figure here and there in the long lists of the dignitaries of the new Makhzen /makhzan/ that have been preserved for us (3).

3. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, pp. 48-53.

After the taking of Marrakech, the populations of the plain of the North rose up twice, first joining the rebels of the Gharb /Rharb/ with ᶜOmar el Khayyat of Salé, then all the tribes of the South, under the leadership of Yahya Es-Sahrawi.

But it was above all the nomadic tribes of the Anti-Atlas and of the desert that vigorously resisted the establishment of the new power. The Igezzoulen, defeated a first time after an expedition that had carried ᶜAbd el Moumen as far as El Kost in the Far South, called on the Christian leader Réverter, in the service of the Almoravides; they soon betrayed him, but were nonetheless massacred by the Almohades, except for the small children. In 1153, with the aid of Yahya Es-Sahrawi, they began their rebellion again at the same time as the Lamta and some Aït Yighaz. Defeated anew, as well as their leaders, Ahoukar, sultan of the Lemtouna of the desert and the lord of Taᶜgizt, they perished in

/67 cont./

* 175 great numbers; and one could see put up for sale at Bab Chari^c^a in Marrakech the women of the Gezzoula and Lamta with all their flocks. Finally the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, subject from the first years of the Mahdi's preaching, also rebelled at the end of ^c^Abd el Moumen's reign. Their territory was cut into two parts and divided between the Hintata and the Tinmellel. The frequency /68/ of these uprisings, which, according to El Beidaq, happened no fewer than 28 times in the reign of the first caliph (1),

1. Documents inédits /Unpublished Documents/, p. 207 and sqq.

shows well enough what severity was necessary to maintain order in a country that had never known submission to a strong and organized power; their importance makes us understand how the Senhajian populations of the Anti-Atlas remained trembling under the domination of the Masmouda. The weakening of the central power in the course of the last years of the dynasty and the arrival of the Arabs were soon going to set free all these forces of disorder in the Far South and deliver the Sous over to frightful anarchy for three centuries.

VII. The breakup of the Almohade Empire. -- The intrigues of the council of the Almohade sheiks of the Atlas, whose growing role in the affairs of the State we have indicated above, made the first signs of the decline of the Empire of ^c^Abd el Moumen appear beginning from the reign of Yousef el Mostanser (1214). Two of these powerful chiefs, Ibn Ech Chehid and Yousef Ibn ^c^Ali, who had taken command of the Hintata and of Tinmellel, after Yousef's death had El ^c^Adel, son of El Mansour, named, then strangled (2);

2. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 231 and sqq.

their next candidate was Yahya ben Naser, who, with the support

*175 /68 cont./
of the Heskoura and the Arabs, was to hold Sijilmassa, the Dra, and the Haut-Sous for a long time. So when a son of El Mansour, El Mamoun, had taken power in Marrakech, the role of the council of the Almohades seemed so pernicious to him that he had 100 of them executed and ostentatiously rejected the doctrines, traditions, and ceremonial of the Mahdi, whom the sheiks referred to ceaselessly (3).

3. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 236.

A few years afterwards, his successor, Er-Rechid, had to re-establish these institutions (1232) in order to win over the mountains in revolt, but at the same time he was falling under the tutelage of the chief of the Hintata, Abou Mohammed ben Wanudin, lord of the Dra, master of Sijilmassa and governor of the provinces of the North. Another Almohade, Sa^{c}id Ibn Zakaria el Gedmiwi, played an analogous role in the reign of Es-Sa^{c}id, son of El Mamoun, who at one time had tried to get rid of the sheiks by concluding a dangerous alliance with the /69/ Sofian, Khlot, and Ma^{c}qil Arab tribes. After the death of Es-Sa^{c}id and the rout of his army at Tlemcen, in the land of the Beni ^{c}Abd el Wad, in the reign of El Mortada, again an Almohade sheik, ^{c}Ali ben Yedder, revolted in the Sous in order to found an independent kingdom with the aid of the Ma^{c}qil Arabs, and the Sultan was powerless to put it down (1).

[113]

1. Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsides /Chronicle of the Almohades and Hafsids/, Fagnan tr., pp. 23, 30, 32, 39, 43; Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 231-243; El Marrakchi, ibid., pp. 205-285.

For 30 years, however, the thrust of the Zenètes, interrupted for two centuries, again took a new form. The Beni Merin were advancing in the north of the country, winning the territory of the

/69 cont./

*175 Tadla, encouraging the rebels; when the Almohade sheiks saw them give their powerful support to a relative of the sovereign, Abou Debbous, they themselves abandoned a lost cause and many of them rendered homage to Abou Yousef Ya^cqoub, son of ^cAbd el Haqq the Mérinide. El Mortada sought refuge in the Atlas in vain; he had to flee to Azemmour, where he was betrayed, then delivered over and put to death.

The reign of Abou Debbous, last Almohade caliph, was brief; having succeeded in destroying the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the Sous, the Sultan, who had asked for the Mérinides' protection, tried to betray them by seeking to obtain the support of the son of Yaghmorasen at Tlemcen. At that moment Ya^cqoub ben ^cAbd el Haqq advanced on Marrakech, took the town, killed the Sultan, and the remains of the Almohade Makhzen /makhzan/ fled into the mountains (1269).

Then for one last time the last Almohades could be seen trying to reconstitute an independent kingdom in this place that had seen the birth of the Empire of the Mahdi. In Tinmellel, around the mosque and royal tombs, the vizier Ibn Attouch had Ishaq, brother of El Mortada, proclaimed sultan against all hope. The Masmouda held firm for several years against their enemies, then, without strength, allowed the holy city to be defiled; defenders and Sultan were put to death and the sepulchers desecrated. It was the end of the epic in which the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had surprised the Occident by their valor in war, their organizational power, and their spirit of adaptation (2).

[113] 2. Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, pp. 247-253, IV, 82. -- Cf. also the fine article by H. Basset, H. Terrasse on Tinmel (Sanctuaires et Forteresses almohades /"Almohade Sanctuaries and Fortresses"/, Hespéris, 1924).

This collapse, rendered inevitable by the rivalries and ambition /70/ of the Almohade sheiks, did not entail, as has sometimes

*175 /70 cont./

been believed, the disappearance of the tribes that had given their support to the political and religious movement created by Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen. Although the names of several of these groups henceforth disappear almost entirely from history, it is certain that most of the fractions that made up the large tribes continued to occupy the same places. In our day a large number of small tribes that formerly formed the confederation of the Genfisa are found in the same place as in former times, around the summits of the Tichka. The ancient fractions of the Gedmiwa cited by El Beidaq can also be identified in the proportion of half. Without doubt the ancient tribe of Tinmellel is the one that, from Tagontaft to Tagadirt n Bour, forms at present the group of the "Asif Nefis." The Arghen and the neighboring tribes of the Anti-Atlas have scarcely changed their habitat south of Taroudant. Finally, the tribes of the Hintata, several groups of which, like the Gheghaya, still skirt the mountains of the Kik, continued to give their support to the Mérinides, and their chiefs dominated the mountains as far as the region of Imi n Tanout until the sixteenth century.

The memory of the Mahdi's glory and the immense success achieved by his companions was to be preserved for a long time in the valleys of the Deren. In vain did the Mérinides have spread by their talebs legends damaging to the memory of the founder of the sect, whom they tried to pass off as a master swindler, clever at making angels talk and simulating miracles. But the Masmouda nonetheless preserved a deep respect for their heroes for a long time. At Tinmellel the inhabitants piously obliterated the traces of profanation of the last siege. At the time of Ibn Khaldoun the tomb of Ibn Toumert was still the object of earnest worship. There were readers of the Koran as well as a "body of caretakers preserving the same ceremonial as at the time of the Almohade Empire" (1).

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1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 260.

For numerous generations the hope of a renewal of past greatness

/70 cont./

*175 secretly haunted their hearts, uprisings were attempted against the Mérinides, and up to the reign of the Saadians. Faithful to this memory, the Masmouda of the tribes of the Nefis closed their territory to the great maraboutic movement of the sixteenth century. We have proof of this in the fact /71/ that the qoubbas /kubbas/ of holy personages, surrounded by their descendants, so numerous in the Sous, the land of the Demsira, the plain of Marrakech, are nearly absent in the heart of the Almohade Empire.

Little by little, however, the Masmouda lost their hopes; at the same time they ceased to become an object of terror for the inhabitants of the towns of the plain. But still in our day tradition places the tomb of Ibn Toumert under a jujube tree several centuries old; the montagnards pass proudly before the crumbling walls of the astonishing mosque of Tinmel, so rich in glorious memories; the most ignorant know who the Almohades were. We should not dare to assert that even at present in these lost cantons of the high valleys, where the noise of the political events of our time scarcely reaches, the dream of the prodigious return of a Mahdi does not sometimes come to mind. The conquest of the kingdoms of the earth, which one glimpses in the distance while pasturing the flocks in summer on the high summits of the great chain, would be easy for the Masmouda as in former times, "if God gave them his assistance."

VIII. The Mérinide domination in the Sous. -- The Mérinide victory made the Masmouda simple tributaries whom it was important for the new Makhzen /makhzan/ to weaken, all the more because they constituted a danger for the neighboring plains. Moreover, no motive was spurring the Zénète dynasty to carry its efforts toward the South. During the first years, the sultan Abou Yousef Yaʿqoub the Mérinide, prompted by a concern for arranging the alliance of the Almohade sovereigns of Ifriqiya, descendants of Abou Hafs ʿOmar Hintati, had still preserved some memories of the customs of the Mahdi and commanded that prayer be offered in the great mosque of Marrakech

/71 cont./

*175 in the name of the Hafsides. But when he had taken possession of the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/ and turned his weapons toward Spain, where high thoughts of holy war attracted him, he established his capital definitely in Fez, beautified it with magnificent monuments, and court life flowed on in a luxury that the Almohades, who in spite of everything had remained a little uncouth, had never known.

Under these circumstances the principles of Mérinide policy in the Sous were fixed very simply: make the montagnards pay taxes as heavy as possible and, in order to manage this, /72/ vigorously organize the tribes' command; intervene in force in the country each time serious troubles threaten to develop.

The history of this period is quite well known to us for more than 100 years, thanks to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ and the author of the Raoud el Qirtas, so that we can understand how the Moroccan South endured this inferior situation, after having known a century of greatness.

In order to collect easily in the country of the Masmouda the Koranic taxes, to which the Mérinides added the imposition of the "kharaj" or the "naîba," it was necessary to place the tribes under the legal authority of powerful leaders; it was then that there appeared among the Heskoura, the Hintata, the Gedmiwa, the Haha, large families loyal to the Makhzen /makhzan/ and who seem to have exercised their power in the manner of the "lords of the Atlas" of our time.

In truth, as we have seen, from the time of the death of the first Almohade caliph, the importance assumed by the autochthonous chiefs in the mountains of the Deren had already indeed been observed, and their role had not ceased to grow in proportion as the decline of the dynasty was accentuated; but if the command of the Masmoudian tribes was conferred upon them, that was doubtless a simple consequence of the progressive dissolution of the council of Almohade sheiks, whose members were trying to establish themselves in the mountains where the home of their ancestors was. As a matter of fact, it is remarkable to note that from one reign to another the names of these chiefs

/72 cont./

* 175 change as if they did not belong to families long established in the exercise of power, but rather as if the authority had been given successively to various notables of the country; in any case no indication permits us to believe that this rough outline of feudality resulted, as happened at the end of the nineteenth century, from the progressive affirmation of a personal power born in the bosom of the tribes, and which would be substituted for the faltering authority of the sultans.

On the contrary, under Mérinide domination it is families firmly implanted in the country who concentrate power in their hands and constitute veritable local dynasties. Such would be the Metzara among the Haha, the Aït Haddo ben Yousef among the independent Seksawa, the Sad Allah among the Gedmiwa, of Almohade origin; among the Hintata, the Oulad Younes, autochthons, /73/ and the Oulad Mousa Ben ᶜAli, who came from the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/; the Beni Khettab among the Heskoura.

The organization of the large commands of the Atlas moreover could not prevent the Sous from experiencing, even during the finest years of the Mérinide Empire, an almost uninterrupted succession of revolts. The existence of independent tribes like those of the Seksawa, the presence of the little kingdom of the Beni Yedder in the high valley of the Sous, of Almohade origin, and above all the arrival of the Maᶜqil, by means of whom the contagion of disorder reached the Haut-Dra and Sijilmassa, actually then made the Moroccan South the seat of all the revolts and the ready-made refuge of unfortunate pretenders (1).

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[113] 1. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 378-385.

It is necessary to indicate here by way of example the monotonous series of uprisings that justify the constant intervention of the Mérinide Makhzen /makhzan/, occupied, however, in other regions with crushing tasks, if one wishes to explain what the life of a faraway province might be under a glorious dynasty.

/73 cont./

*175 The Sous having been conquered in 1269 by the Mérinides and the commands in the South organized in 1275, Sultan Abou Yousef Ya^cqoub could think of preparing for a holy war in Spain. In 1279, at the moment when he was going to cross the strait to fly to the assistance of the Mussulmans besieged at Algésiras /Algeciras/ and in great danger of being defeated, the emir of the Sofian and Djochem Arabs, Mesa^coud ben Kennoun, rebelled at Nefis, then went on among the Seksawa. For long months he was besieged in that the army was camped at the foot of the Atlas, until he was finally betrayed and captured among the Heskoura (2).

2. Roudh el Kartas, Beaumier tr., pp. 472-551. -- Ibn Khaldoun, IV, pp. 100-103.

In 1284 the Arabs of the Sous revolted, and it was necessary to pursue them to the Seguiat el Hamra. As soon as Abou Ya^cqoub Yousef had succeeded his father (1286), his brother and other rivals revolted in the Dra; then it was another relative, Talha Ibn ^cAli, having become independent in the Sous plain with the help of the Dwi Hasan, who was successfully killed and whose head was sent to the Sultan; in 1289 the sovereign's own son, Abou ^cAmer, seized the treasury in Marrakech and fled into the mountains among the Masmouda (3).

3. Roudh el Kartas, p. 534; Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 136.

In the repression, the region of the Haha was subjugated anew, and /74/ the Zeggen Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous were cut to pieces with their leaders. In 1303 the Sous was again disturbed by the uprising of the Beni Gommi, a tribe of the Beni ^cAbd el Wad, in the service of the Mérinides and settled in the Azaghar of Marrakech. Having abandoned the cause of Abou Ya^cqoub at the siege of Tlemcen, they doubled back toward the Haha and Taroudant, where ^cAbd er Rahman Ibn Yedder had

/74 cont./

*175 taken supreme authority by using the name of the Almohades. After hard fights the brother of the sultan Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub scattered the Beni Gommi and destroyed Taroudant (1).

[712] 1. Ibn Khaldoun, III, 493, IV, 164. -- Perhaps it is necessary to attribute to Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub the construction of the immense fortress which is still seen among the Aït A^{c}issi (Haha) on the Jebel Asles facing the territory of the Ida Ou Tanan. From its appearance it seems to date from the Mérinide period; tradition attributes it to Ali Ya^{c}ich, a personage about whom there are only imprecise legends. Tadert, the place where Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub was first defeated, could be the village of this name among the Aït Zelten, near the kaid's house. Irgharen, where he put the rebels to flight, would be the present-day Iregharen among the Ida ou Tanan (Aït Ouqsri). Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. III, p. 493.

In the reign of Abou Tabet, in 1308, there was first of all the disturbance created by a pretender, Yousof Ibn ^{c}Ali ^{c}Ayyad, at Aghmat among the Heskoura; then in the western part of the Deren an independent chief, ^{c}Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, claimed the title of "agellid," Berbère /Berber/ king of the Seksawa. After a semblance of war, the Sultan contented himself with receiving presents from ^{c}Omar ben Haddo, had the Rokna, a rebel tribe who had taken refuge among the Haha, pursued, and left again to chastise the Arabs in the plains of the North (2).

[103] 2. Roudh el Kartas, p. 551. Tamezouart is without doubt the present village of Tamezaourt near our post of Bigoudine, on the main Makhzen /makhzan/ road from Bibaoun. The Rokna

*175 /74 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ are perhaps the Rekouna of El Beidaq, a group of plains fractions counted in with the Gedmiwa in the "tamyiz" of the Almohades in the twelfth century.

The sultan Abou Saᶜid in turn had to subjugate a chief of the Heskoura, ᶜAddi Ibn Hennou, who had revolted in his fortress (1313). He especially had to fight his own son, Abou ᶜAli, who had become independent at Sijilmassa, in the Dra and the Sous, after having made the Almohade dynasty of the Beni Yedder disappear. Abou ᶜAli, who had taken Marrakech, was vanquished by his brother, Abou ᵓlHasan, the future sultan (1321), and remained at rest for several years until a new revolt in 1332 forced Abou ᵓlHasan to have him strangled (3).

3. Ibn Khaldoun, IV, p. 306.

The Atlas stayed calmer during the glorious reign of Abou ᵓlHasan. But upon the announcement of the Kairouan disaster, caused by the treason of the Arab tribes in 1348 and which had surprised the sovereign in his conquest of Ifriqiya, the Masmouda stirred anew. /75/ Abou ᶜInan, having rebelled against his father and already proclaimed in the Maghreb el Aqsa, had no trouble taking power. Abou ᵓlHasan, having come back from Ifriqiya after a trip full of tragic vicissitudes and arriving in Marrakech via the Tafilelt, had no other resource than to seek refuge in the mountains with the loyal great chief of the Hintata, ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz Ibn Mohammed Ibn ᶜAli. He died in these mountains after having been forced to surrender to his son's victorious army. After these events, the chiefs of the Masmouda, who had made the plain tremble for an instant, planning to go to overturn all the Mérinide mosques in Marrakech, "returned to their lairs" (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 270 and sqq.

/75 cont./

*175 Finally, in the reign of Abou ^{c}Inan in 1353, El Fadel, the Sultan's brother, had himself put ashore on the coast of the Sous by the Christians; with the help of the independent chief of the Seksawa, ^{c}Abdallah, son of ^{c}Omar Agellid, he rallied the Masmouda around him. Abou ^{c}Inan built the fortress of El Qehira at the foot of the mountains and succeeded in inducing ^{c}Abdallah Seksawi to abandon his protégé. El Fadel, then a refugee among the Zenaga on the eastern, reverse side of the Anti-Atlas, was taken by treachery and strangled.

From then on the Mérinide Empire entered a period of irremediable decline. The Sultans who succeed one another are often only young princes, playthings of all-powerful grand viziers; during the short period that separates us at present from the great anarchy of the fifteenth century, the ruin of the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ policy in the South is precipitated. Soon the Maghreb el Aqsa is divided into two kingdoms, that of Fez and that of Marrakech, whose common boundary is Oum er Rbi^{c}a; the interest that the weakened Beni Merin then have in Granada turns the last forces of the Makhzen away from the Sous. For more than a century history is silent on these regions, and we can only imagine very confusedly the sequence of the events that disturb them. Ibn Khaldoun was acquainted with the first phases of this abandonment of Morocco to growing anarchy and has told about the tragic vicissitudes at length; the very precise picture of the political life of the country in this period that he has left us makes the figure of the chiefs of the Atlas in the fourteenth century appear in such a light that we shall stop with him in order to travel one last time through the Moroccan South before we see spreading over all Morocco the shadows /76/ in which the marabouts' reaction against the Christians is prepared.

IX. The organization of the Atlas tribes under the Merinides. -- Under Mérinide domination, the country of the Haha seems to us to have accepted the government of the Makhzen /makhzan/ with more docility than the other Masmoudian regions; the most populous part of the territory was then included between the

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+ 175 Tensift and the Qsob wadi, and one doubtless already saw rising there the fortified market towns in which thousands of Berbères /Berbers/ took shelter, before the Portuguese conquest and the flowing back of the nomadic tribes had chased the autochthons from the richest part of the country (1).

1. Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Vol. I, pp. 134, 140, 146, 149, 150, 160. Although it is almost impossible to identify the "Berbère towns" described by Léon north of the Qsob wadi, one can at least, by observing the ruins of the villages of sedentary peoples and their agadirs /collective storehouses/ in the present country of the Chiadma, find evidence of the ancient establishments of the Masmouda in a region occupied in our day by tribes of nomadic origin.

In the South, in the middle of the forest of argan trees, the leaders of the Haha lived in their town of Tednest; still farther toward the Sous were found the lands traveled by the Zeggen and Lakhes, Lamta by origin, but allied to the sedentary peoples. Already renowned for their learning in law and their knowledge of religion (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 275.

the Haha were soon going to accept with enthusiasm the preaching of the mystic sheiks and the tutelage of the marabouts.

After the ruin of Tinmellel, the country of the Seksawa, which had always remained apart from the Almohade movement, naturally became the last rampart of the independence of the Masmouda against the Mérinides; then one sees formed in the shelter of the snowy peaks of the Tichka, around cypress forests that still adorned the Atlas summits, a little Berbère /Berber/ kingdom whose glory has not yet been completely forgotten in the memory of the tribes. The founder of this minuscule State,

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*175 Haddo ben Yousef, had appeared in the reign of the last successors of ᶜAbd el Moumen, and tradition has it that he was a descendant of the Lemtouna. In 1281 his son ᶜOmar, who succeeded him, took the title of agellid and soon had command from the Nefis to Bibaoun. His power extended far, since the Arabs of the Sous, Haret and Chebbanat, were loyal to him and since he had the strength to make a Mahdi disappear, one who had come out of the ribat of Massat, where he was passing himself off as the awaited Fatimid. /77/ The Mérinide sultan Abou Tabet could not subdue him. Besides, the personality of this Berbère /Berber/ king was singular: passionately fond of study, owner of a sizable library, jurist, philosopher, even a sorcerer, "he enjoyed himself in the society of rabbis to such a point that his orthodoxy was suspect and he was accused of wanting to give up his religion." These traits show us how much the Almohade victories had been able to contribute toward making civilization spread into the most impenetrable regions of the Atlas (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 270 and sqq.

ᶜOmar Agellid, who has become the ᶜAmer of local legends, which attribute to him a reign of 100 years, was the true founder of the power of the Seksawa. His son ᶜAbdallah, also given to magic and alchemy, spread terror in Marrakech at the time that Abou ᶜInan was having his father, Abou ʾlHasan, besieged in the mountains of the Hintata and then threatened to go to demolish the Mérinides' unclean mosques in the capital. He nonetheless later delivered to the Sultan, as we have seen, the pretender Abou ʾlFadel, a refugee in his territory. Subsequently chased from his country by his own son, ᶜAbdallah had to beg for help from the great sheik of the Hintata, ᶜAmer Ibn Mohammed, who had become the most powerful lord of the South; but, after having killed his son, he perished, assassinated in turn; the dynasty of the ᶜAit Haddo ben Yousef disappeared then, at the very moment when the weakening of the Mérinides was enabling the tribes to resume their anarchical existence in safety and was

/77 cont./

* 175 thus taking away from the chiefs of the Seksawa their role as defenders of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

Among the Gedmiwa the power belonged to the Almohade family of the Sad Allah, whose leader had abandoned Abou Debbous in flight before the Mérinides; but the Sad Allah were later won over to ᶜOmar Seksawi; command was then exercised by another sheik of the country, Abd el Kerim Ibn ᶜIsa. The latter died by betrayal with all his people, and the former chiefs were called back into the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/. But the Sad Allah were incapable of contending with the ambition of their powerful neighbor, ᶜAmer Hintati; several of them were assassinated by his order, and their family took command again only after the disappearance of their enemy (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 267.

X. A gread kaid in the fourteenth century. -- At the very beginning the Hintata had had at their head the Oulad Younes, Almohade sheiks who, /78/ like the SaᶜdAllah, went into the service of the Mérinides. That family having disappeared, the Makhzen /makhzan/ replaced it by the one of a tax collector, Mousa Ibn ᶜAli, chosen by the Mérinide sheiks. In the reign of Abou ᵓlHasan, ᶜAmer ben Mohammed, Mousa's nephew, left with the Sultan for the conquest of Ifriqiya. Momentarily governor of Tunis, ᶜAmer was charged with bringing back by sea his master's harem, after the disaster of Kairouan, and he refused to deliver it to the pretender Abou ᶜInan, who had revolted against his father. It was with Amer's brother, ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, that the defeated Abou ᵓlHasan sought refuge in the mountains of the Hintata. When the legitimate Sultan was dead, ᶜAmer gave back to Abou ᶜInan his father's wives. Touched by the loyalty of the Hintata chiefs, the new ruler wanted to bind them to him and reestablished them as a tribe in their command. It was then that ᶜAmer Hintati began to play a startling and active role in the politics of the Empire, which made a veritable novel of his existence.

/78 cont./

*175 His first concern is to ensure solidly his power in the mountains. First of all, he breaks down the resistance of the Ourika, his irreducible neighbors; then by means of tribal wars, whose cause, according to Ibn Khaldoun, is "the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former quarrels," he intervenes among the Gedmiwa, makes their sheiks disappear, and takes possession of the country. At the time of the struggles that tore apart the family of the Aït Haddo ben Yousef, ᶜAmer Seksawi chooses him as arbiter; he collects the fugitives, extends his influence over their territory. All-powerful in the western Atlas, he becomes, even in the lifetime of Abou ᶜInan, collector of taxes for all the tribes connected with Marrakech and preceptor of El Moᶜtamid, son of the Sultan. From then on ᶜAmer can await with confidence the dynastic disorders that threaten the Mérinides; he is strong enough to exercise his authority by his own means.

Upon the death of Sultan Abou ᶜInan, ᶜAmer takes his protégé, El Moᶜtamid, into the mountains of the Hintata and shelters him from the intrigues of the vizier El Hasan El Foudoudi, veritable mayor of the palace, who, from Fez, governs in the name of the weak Es-Saᶜid. To defend him, he goes so far as to hold out against a long siege in his casbah and, moreover, escapes destruction only by good luck.

In the reign of Abou Salem, he re-establishes his position, momentarily jeopardized. Now at court, now in his mountains, he incessantly increases and utilizes his power. Upon the death of the Sultan in 1361, he /79/ is, with the assent of his friend, the vizier ᶜOmar Ibn ᶜAbdallah, established in Fez, the true master of the South. "To serve the dynasty," he undertakes to maintain order in all the provinces that belong to Marrakech. Soon he marries a widow of the sultan Abou Salem, and his wedding procession astonishes Marrakech by its richness and pomp. He is the one who makes or unmakes kings at will. In his mountain casbah ᶜAmer keeps in reserve two little princes, sons of Abou Salem. If anyone wants to try to fight him, he immediately has them proclaimed sovereigns, one for the North, the

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*175 other for the South. Scarcely have his enemies gone away than these shadows of sultans disappear in a recess of his fortress. But finally fortune betrays him. During one of the periods in which ᶜAmer had the young Abou ᵓlFadel proclaimed in Marrakech for his political needs, news reached the city that the sultan ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz had succeeded in having the all-powerful vizier ᶜOmar Ibn ᶜAbdallah, who held him in tutelage, assassinated in Fez; confronted with this example, the chief of the Hintata rightly fears that his ward may try to make him submit to the same fate and flees into his mountains. Abou ᵓlFadel, left to himself, makes himself independent; he soon pays with his life for this imprudence; the sultan of Fez comes to take possession of Marrakech and kills his rival. Threatened in turn by the arrival of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz at the head of his troops, ᶜAmer decides once more to resist in his Deren fortress. He proclaims ruler one of the pretenders whom he has kept with him as a precaution and enters into relations with the sultan of Tlemcen. But soon a powerful army surrounds him; his adversary throws gold by the handful in order to instigate desertions and betrayals, while he himself displeases his partisans by his harshness and avarice. Little by little the last retrenchments are carried; ᶜAmer then advises his son to abandon him, next he flees in the snow toward the Sous with his wives. On the road, exhausted and betrayed, he falls into the power of the emissaries of the sultan ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz. While the casbahs are pillaged and destroyed, and riches accumulated in prodigious quantities fall into the power of the conqueror, the ghost of a sultan whom ᶜAmer was keeping in his fortress is carried off to Marrakech to be strangled, and the great sheik of the Hintata perishes under the lash (1370) (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II, pp. 266-269; IV, pp. 377-378.

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/80/ XI. The independent kingdom of the Sous. -- A common characteristic in the development of the power of these minor chiefs in Berbère /Berber/ country is the brief duration of the period during which we see them exercise their authority; two or three generations suffice to exhaust their forces. The kingdom founded by the Beni Yedder in the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ does not escape this rule.

About 1252 an Almohade sheik originally from Zgonder, to the west of the Sirwa, fled from Marrakech and revolted against the weak representative of the Sultan in Taroudant (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, I. p. 131; II. p. 276.

Perhaps ᶜAli Ibn Yedder, who had the reputation of possessing, like the kaid Gontafi of our time, immense treasure in his casbahs, used the possession of his country's silver mines, famous already at the time of the Almohades, to establish his power. His command was exercised doubtless in the beginning over the richest fractions in the high valley of the Sous: the Tifnout, the Onein, and the beautiful valley of the Ihouziyoun. He constructed a fortress at Tansest, where the Sous enters the plain, and his cousin Hamidi took possession of that of Tisekht among the Zenaga. It is known that soon, the better to conquer the Igezzoulen, his neighbors, he had the ill-fated idea of appealing to the Dwi Hasan and Chebbanat Arabs, then wandering in the lower part of the Moulouya, and taking them into his service. Several operations attempted against ᶜAli Ibn Yedder by the Almohades were without effect, and the rebel chief succeeded, with a small army of 1,000 Arab horsemen, in dominating the Igezzoulen. It was over him, however, that Abou Debbous, the last Almohade sultan, won a last victory; ᶜAli submitted before the catapults that were battering his fortresses; but he resumed his command after the taking of Marrakech by the Mérinides and then conquered Taroudant, Ifri, and all the Sous cities. He perished later in an Arab revolt, and power passed to his nephews (1270).

In the reign of Abou Yaᶜqoub Yousef, the brother of the sultan Yaᶜich ben Yaᶜqoub destroyed Taroudant, which had become

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*175 the capital of this small independent kingdom. But a few years later the town was rebuilt by the rebels (1306). Abou ᶜAli, son of the sultan Abou Saᶜīd, who had obtained from his father the government of Sijilmassa and had at his disposal forces of the Maᶜqil Arabs settled on the whole south versant of the Atlas, undertook to carry his conquests /81/ as far as the Sous plain and chased ᶜAli Ibn Yedder's nephews among the Zenaga, into the mountains of the Ngisa, not without taking away their riches deposited in Tansast (1313). Finally, the sultan Abou ᵓlHasan conquered the Sous valley and re-established the Mérinide government in Taroudant and in the other towns of the South. Thus there was restored for a moment the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which, in spite of its weaknesses, succeeded in imposing itself on the anarchy of the tribes and the ambitions of the minor chiefs until the middle of the fourteenth century (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, II. p. 278.

In the course of this first period in the history of the Sous, which is not, in spite of its distance in time, the one that we know least well, we already distinguish one of the most durable aspects of life in Berbère /Berber/ country. Except during the Almohade dynasty coming out of the Atlas of the Masmouda, the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in carrying out its operations in the mountains only in an indirect manner; it is limited to occupying the plains. It is especially under the domination of the Mérinides that the resistance of the tribes is affirmed. Even when the Berbères /Berbers/ agree to serve the great chiefs -- ᶜAmer Hintati, ᶜOmar Seksawi, the kings of the Beni Yedder -- it is with the thought of continuing the struggle against the sultans under their command.

Soon, when the government of the Empire is going to disappear for two centuries into anarchy, the tribes will stop grouping themselves around temporal leaders, in order to seek from the marabouts the supreme authority that they need in order to live in independence.

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Chapter IV

The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Fifteenth Century to Our Day

I. The first maraboutic reaction. Its general characteristics. -- II. The Regraga. -- III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- IV. The shorfa and the debut of the Saadians. -- V. The attitude of the tribes under the first Saadians. -- VI. The reign of Ahmed el Mansour. -- VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1669). -- VIII. The maraboutic principalities of the Sous. -- IX. The life of the tribes during the maraboutic period. -- X. The Filalian shorfa resume the struggle against the marabouts. -- XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. -- XII. The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah and the founding of Mogador. -- XIII. Weakness of the sherifian government in the reign of Moulay Sliman. -- XIV. Insufficiency of historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- XV. The Makhzen policy under Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. -- XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- XVII. Moulay ᵓlHasan and the Sous expeditions. -- XVIII. The development of anarchy; the Protectorate.

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I. The first maraboutic reaction; its general characteristics. -- During the interval of time that extends from the decline of the Mérinide dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century to the appearance of the Filalian sultans in the course of the second half of the seventeenth century, the political life in the south of Morocco is entirely dominated by maraboutic activity. The aspects of this great movement, which has as its stage the whole of Morocco and whose double goal is to complete the Islamization of the Berbères /Berbers/ and to struggle against the Christian conquests, are quite well known (1).

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1. Cf. especially the useful book by Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/, Paris, 1904.

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*175 but it is not useless to try to understand here what the play of influences was at that time, the operation of which has become difficult to observe in the same region in our day, since the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has taken all real importance away from the leaders of the brotherhoods.

/83/ The traces left by this form of power are still apparent in the tribe, and, if the practical importance of the survivals of maraboutism in our time has sometimes been exaggerated, the history of its development in the past deserves to be examined attentively, because it makes us understand better the facility with which the independent Berbères /Berbers/ organize their political life under the aegis of the religious leaders.

In the general confusion of the Maghreb in the fifteenth century, when on all sides the tribes were clashing and fighting on the plains following invasions, and the last impotent Mérinides shut themselves up in Fez, the progress of the Christian nations becomes more noticeable. We shall see them, after the reconquest of Spain, apply themselves to carrying out their project of dominating Africa. The province of the Sous is doubly hit; having become like a huge melting pot where the Maʿqil, Sofian, Haret Arabs or Arabized Berbère /Berber/ tribes reflow, it looks in vain for masters who might deliver it from anarchy; at the same time the Portuguese fleets frequent the little bays of the Atlantic, and soon, from Anfa to Agadir, the threats that presage the establishment of Christians on the coast become specific.

It is in these favorable circumstances that religious personages with immense prestige well up from the bosom of the tribes; they alone are capable of interposing themselves between the Mussulmans who dispute the possession of the land with one another and of uniting them against foreigners; for three centuries we shall see them preach at the same time the duties of an exact practice of Islam, boast the attractions of the mystical life, and remind all of the obligation of holy war.

Doubtless the great development of maraboutism then can be explained by the intense proselytism of the brotherhood leaders and their disciples, but it also found a milieu fully prepared for

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*175 its expansion, by reason of the limitless credulity of the Berbère /Berber/ populations. The reading of the hagiographies of the period, that of Ibn ᶜAskar, for example, makes us understand in what an atmosphere of the marvelous the saints and their admirers lived; we find them mingled with a crowd of intriguers, madmen, and the simple-minded; the heretics and the sorcerers corrupt the crowds and stir them up by their discords or their marvels (1).

[113] 1. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâcihr /"Daᶜwat [dawut] al-Nāshir"/, Archives Marocaines, Vol. XIX, pp. 80-85.

/84/ Another psychological force of great power is the terror in which the Berbères /Berbers/ hold the malediction of the saints. Their "daᶜwa" /incantation/ is not invoked in vain, and those who transgress their orders are promptly struck with an exemplary chastisement (1).

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, op. cit., p. 54; Weir, The Shaikhs of Morocco, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 91.

While the religious personages will utilize the frame of mind of the Berbères /Berbers/ in order to gain their confidence, group their forces, and soon to found veritable small states with their co-operation, the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/, on the other hand, will try for 100 years to re-establish the political unity of the Maghreb el Aqsa for their advantage. But their action will appear only as an interlude in the slow work that the marabouts pursue in order to put the populations of the Moroccan South under their moral and political tutelage; a second religious reaction will sweep away their achievement until the time when the Filalian shorfa will succeed in re-establishing the tradition of the Empire for two centuries and a half.

The great religious movement that dominates the whole history of our province from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century is

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*175 specifically Berbère /Berber/. The leaders, like the subjects, belong mostly to the old tribes of the Sous. Moreover, one can observe that the fires of maraboutism, which are kindled successively on the Atlantic coast, ceaselessly move farther to the South and develop in regions where the tribes are more and more rebellious against the tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and, on the other hand, more attached to their independent government.

Each of these religious or political centers has its own characteristics and evolves separately. The Jbel Hadid, on the left bank of the mouth of the Tensift, saw the militia of the Regraga arise in the fourteenth century; the central region of the Haha country is the seat of power of the Imam el Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ in the fifteenth century; the South of the Haha and the Tazerwalt, in the Anti-Atlas, shelter Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, and their descendants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, the very valley of the Sous and the country of the Haha will be the cradle of power of the Saadians, whose enterprises at the beginning of the sixteenth century will come to cross the course of the maraboutic movement, without succeeding in stopping it.

/85/ The Regraga. -- We have very little precise information on the religious organization of which the Regraga made themselves the champions. Founded by Abou Saᶜid ᶜAbd er Rahman er Regragi, died at Chichawa in 1370, and by Abou Otman Saᶜid el Hartanani, whose zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ was located at the very mouth of the Tensift, that association of holy men used the name of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, like all those who were subsequently to arise (1).

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(1) Cour, op. cit., pp. 13-17; Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, Rabat, 1923.

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*175 Its missionaries spread throughout the South; one finds their tombs, more or less legendary, not only all along the coast, but in the mountains among the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the Demsira, and as far as the high valley of the Sous and the Zagmouzen. The memory of the Regraga seems bound up in the folklore, especially at the time of the "Jahiliya," when people were still ignorant of the true God, whom they contributed powerfully toward making known. Perhaps they even had to struggle against hostile tribes and were warriors at the same time as religious men, according to the true tradition of Islam. People made of them, in the South of Morocco, the 40 missionaries of the Maghreb, or again the seven pilgrims of Mekke /Mecca/, to whom the Prophet spoke in the Berbère /Berber/ tongue (2).

(113) 2. H. Basset, Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, Algiers, 1920, p. 265.

However that may be, they doubtless had no political role, but rather asked the converted, in exchange for their preaching and good example, to grant them "ziara," lucrative offerings. As a matter of fact, one still sees their descendants, after six centuries, making fruitful tours to collect alms in the region of the Haha and Mtougga.

III. The Imam el Jazouli and his disciples. -- The enterprise of the Imam El Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ is better known to us than that of the Regraga. Mohammed ben Sliman el Jazouli was originally from a tribe of the Asif n Tankert on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas. After writing in Fez the "Delaïl el Khirat" /Dalā'il al-Khairāt/, a devotional book at present widespread throughout the Maghreb, he came to follow the teaching of Chérif /Sherif/ Abou ᶜAbdallah of the Banou Amghar of Tit, was afterward expelled from Safi by the governor, disturbed by his deeds, and

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*175 left to found his brotherhood in Afoughal among the Haha (3).

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3. In the course of research carried out with Mr. P. de Cenival among the Chyadma /Chiadma/, we have been able to identify Afoughal with the Souk el Had of the Dra, 35 kilometers to the east of Mogador.

Preaching the holy war at the same /86/ time that he was propagating the mystical doctrines of chadilisme /Shādhilīism/, at the time when the Christians' expeditions were multiplying, Jazouli had immense success. More than 12,000 disciples carried his doctrine into all the tribes, while powerful offshoots of his zaouia /zawiya, zauia: Moslem monastery and school/ were founded in the north of Morocco in Salé, Fez, Meknès, Tlemcen, on the Tadla, and in the South at Bou Romman, among the Howara, at Massat, and at Aqqa. But the power of this man, whose pride was such that he had heard God declare to him "that he had placed him above the creatures of his time," was the cause of his downfall; he perished, poisoned, in 1465, and his enemies, temporal leaders or talebs hostile to his brotherhood, ruined his achievement. We know that one of his adepts, ᶜOmar el Maghiti ech Chyadmi, surnamed Es Seyyaf -- the executioner -- assembled the loyal disciples and ravaged in his name the Masmoudian tribes of the plain of the North, while he was transporting the corpse of the master in the midst of his bands of brigands, in order to continue to live on his prestige (1).

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1. Cf. Ibn ᶜAskar, Daouhat en Nâchir /"Daᶜwat al-Nāshir"/; Ahmed el Fasi, Momtiᶜ el Asmaᶜ; El Arbi El Fasi, Mirat el Mahasin; Archives marocaines (Graulle trans.), Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 271, 282; Cour, Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc /Establishment of the Dynasties of the Sherifs in Morocco/,

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/footnote 1 continued/ pp. 43-44. -- We believe we can identify "Culeihat el Muridin," the fortress of ^{c}Omar Seyyaf, with the one that exists at Tameloukt among the Mtougga, 15 kilometers to the southeast of Bouaboud, at the place called "Agadir n Jorf." The site and distance in relation to Tasegdelt (Lalla Tasegdelt) from the map at 1/200,000 of the Service géographique du Maroc /Geographical Service of Morocco/ seem to us to correspond to the description by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, p. 155.

But other, less frenzied disciples were to gather up the religious heritage of the Imam el Jazouli. In the first years of the sixteenth century a whole flowering of saints appeared, whose role was above all to maintain the spirit of holy war against the Portuguese settled henceforth at Anfa, on the Tensift, at Agadir, and allied with the Arabs of the plains of the South. The most famous of these personages are Abou ^{c}Abdallah Mohammed Es Sogheir el Amri, from an Arab tribe of the Sous, whose tomb is found in Marrakech, Abou Mohammed ^{c}Omar Ajana, buried in the Sous plain at Tajemmelt near the Leben wadi; these saints, with Sheik ^{c}Abd el ^{c}Aziz Et Tebba^c, buried in Marrakech, were the masters of Jazoulism in the south of Morocco. Another honored "moujahid" /leader in the holy war/, killed in the struggle against the Christians or their Arab allies, was Sidi ^{c}Abd el Malek Sba^{c}i, mortally wounded on the trail of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho at the "Fortress of the Gold" and buried in the forest of Harjan, between the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud, "with /87/ the ax he used against the Christians" (1).

1. Tradition collected by F. de La Chapelle (unpublished note on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

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*175 Sidi Mohammed ben Mbarek Hilali, affiliated with the Regraga, enjoyed at the same time a limitless authority among the tribes of the Gezzoula; finally, a few years afterwards, two disciples of Sheik Et Tebbaᶜ appeared, called to found powerful zaouias: Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa el Jazouli, who had come back into his native land of the Tazerwalt, after accomplishing, according to tradition, prodigious journeys; and Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, who settled among the Haha in a center already celebrated for its learned jurists, among the Aït Daoud in the tribe of the Ida ou Bouzia.

IV. The shorfa and the debut of the Saadians. -- Beside these marabouts, who operate by means of their preaching, their virtues, or the fear that they inspire, other personages, the shorfa /shurfa/, have a more peaceable "baraka" /Berber word indicating quality of holiness/ and do not have the obligation to produce such fearsome miracles; their mere presence is enough to make a country prosperous. Such is this Abou Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah el Hasani of the Banou Amghar, who settled at Tameslouht at the beginning of the sixteenth century, where he found the country uncultivated and uninhabited. Having come with his father and mother and one single cow for his entire fortune, he was soon at the head of a prosperous zaouia toward which the gifts of the laborers flowed; he actually delivered the region from the damage the birds were doing to it and helped the women conceive by means of small mouthfuls of flour (2).

2. Ibn ᶜAskar, Dawhat en Nachir /Daᶜwat al-Nāshir/, p. 77; Graulle tr., pp. 181-183.

Likewise at this period the Banou Saᶜd shorfa /shurfa/, the future Saadians, settled at Tagmadert in the Haut-Dra, were still only holders of "baraka" when they were, it is said, called into the Sous by the wish of the Berbère /Berber/ populations in order to take part in the holy war. At the beginning of their arrival in that valley they still kept a peaceable aspect and in their first

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*175 appearance did not resemble "soldiers, but masons and laborers, because they were all animated by the benefit they expected to draw from it" (3).

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3. Diego de Torres, Histoire des Chérifs /"History of the Sherifs"/ (in Afrique /Africa/, by Marmol), Vol. III, p. 24.

At the time when, thanks to the tribes' support, the family of the Saadian shorfa was on the point of rising, the political anarchy in the Moroccan South was at its height. The profound decline of the kingdoms of the North had actually ended in the carving up of the whole country. The /88/ Christians had acquired the co-operation of the plains Arabs against the Berbères /Berbers/, and their allies were making raids for them against the cities north of the Haha, which were destroyed one after another as far as the Qsob wadi. The Arabs, under the command of Yahya ben Tahfouf, even pushed to the gates of Marrakech. The capital of the South was in the hands of a sheik of the Hintata, Naser Bou Chentouf. After fighting for a long time the Oulad Mota^c Arabs, who were imposing crushing tithes on the sedentary people and had become the confederates of the Portuguese, this chief had usurped the power that the Mérinides were incapable of exercising. Moulay Idris, a relative of this king of Marrakech, whose family had been settled for a long time at the foot of the Atlas in the region of the Asif el Mal, had himself called the "king of the mountain" and collected tribute among the Masmouda and in the plain. These two chiefs were doubtless descendants of Almohade sheiks; perhaps they were even from the family of the Hafsides, those Hintata emirs who had become rulers of Ifriqiya; they claimed the rank of shorfa /shurfa/ and used the prestige that their birth gave them in order to have their authority accepted in the mountains. But by their position in the plain or on the Dir one can think that they were depending on the tribes of the Azaghar of

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*175 Marrakech, the Heskoura and the Tadla, rather than on the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

[113] 1. Marmol, Afrique /Africa/, Perrot d'Ablancourt trans., Paris, 1667, Vol. II, pp. 41-63.

The upper valley of the Dra was divided between two lords of the family of the "Mezwar" (2),

[192] [622] 2. The term "mezwar" designates, in the towns of Morocco, the representative of the shorfa /shurfa/ settled in the city. This Berbère /Berber/ word derived from the root zwr, to precede (Destaing, Vocab. Français-Berbère, p. 229), also has the sense of president of an assemblage of notables, of "moqaddem"; at the time of the Almohades, a "mezwar" was at the head of each of the fractions of the confederation of the Gedmiwa (cf. above, p. 80).

ruling the districts of "Tenveves" and "Tensita" and separated from each other by a deep enmity. In the fury of their struggles, the Mezwar went so far as to call on the Christians settled at Santa Cruz (Agadir), and the whole Sous valley, already traversed by the Arabs, was agitated by their quarrel. Moreover, their power and liberality were famous, and Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ received a most generous welcome in their dwellings. One of them, who had thought he would do well to present magnificent gifts to the king of Fez, had them carried by an ambassador whose pronunciation and style, doubtless not very classic because of /89/ Berbère /Berber/ influences, were, in the opinion of the

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*175 scholars, a lively and hilarious success (1).

1. Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, Scheffer ed., Vol. I, p. 286; Marmol, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 446-448, and Vol. II, p. 124.

There were still other lords in the Sous. While the mountain Berbères /Berbers/ of the Anti-Atlas, remaining in anarchy, accepted only the maraboutic influence, there were commanding as masters in the plains: Sidi "Buxima," chief of "Alquel," not far from Taroudant; Sidi "Buagaz," master of the town of "Tul," both allies of the Portuguese; finally, Sheik Moumen, lord of Tagaost, who on the contrary became the ally of the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/ and later owed to their protection seeing his power grow (2).

2. Diego de Torres, Histoire des chérifs /"History of the Sherifs"/, in Afrique /Africa/, by Marmol, Vol. III, pp. 21-40.

It is in these circumstances favorable to the execution of their ambitious projects that the Saadian shorfa /shurfa/, in a country divided into small commands, constituted little by little, starting from the valley of the Sous and the Haha, a kingdom capable of giving them the means of subsequently carrying out the conquest of Morocco.

In the beginning and later, up to the time of the discord that separated the two brothers Ahmed el Aᶜrj and Mohammed El Mahdi, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes unreservedly gave their support to a movement that was directed against the Christians and their Arab allies. They promised to assist the shorfa (3),

3. Cour, op. cit., p. 56.

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*175 doubtless in the manner of the tribes of the North who, in the same period, were signing "an act of union" with a marabout of Tlemcen, or as was still being done recently by the turbulent fractions of the Rif, who were forming a "ribat" while proclaiming a military leader against the Spanish.

Mohammed el Qaim, called first of all by the wish of the populations in the Sous valley to Tidsi not far from Taroudant (1509) with the support of the marabout Mohammed ben Mbarek Hilali, soon established himself in Taroudant, where he built the fortress of Freija (4), and struggled with his contingents from the Anti-Atlas, Gezzoula and Zenaga, against the allies of the Christians, who were the Arabs of the plains and the Mezwar of the Haut-Dra. A few years afterwards it was from Tednest and Afoughal, among the Haha, that the Chérif /Sherif/ led the fight against the Portuguese with varying success.

V. The attitude of the tribes under the first Saadians. -- After the death of El Qaim, his two sons Ahmed el Aᶜrj and Mohammed el /90/ Mahdi, established respectively among the Haha and at Taroudant, strengthened their power and took possession of veritable provinces. In the north of the Atlas the taking of Marrakech in 1524, the conquest of the plains as far as the Oum er Rbīᶜa, and the submission of Moulay Idris Hintati, in the South the surrender of Agadir taken from the Portuguese in 1541, the re-establishment of order in the Dra, and the submission of the Mezwar mark the first stage of Saadian political power. The two sherifs, having then conquered the temporal power, name governors, make peace reign, and take the Arabs into their Makhzen /makhzan/. Their unreasonable demands also become more numerous, and they are already levying taxes. They forthwith

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4. Marmol, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 446-448.

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*175 cease being holy-war leaders in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

1. Cour, op. cit., pp. 67-71.

The Sous is waiting for no more than a favorable occasion in order to rise up against an authority that claims to substitute itself for that of the assemblies and of the notables. The discord that breaks out between the two brothers in 1542 on the subject of the apportionment of the territories subject to the tax furnishes the first occasion for a revolt; the sheiks of the country and the leaders of the two armies take sides and, behind them, the tribes fight at Ameskroud and El Qehira. Scarcely has Mohammed el Mahdi triumphed over Ahmed el A^{c}rj, exiled at Sijilmassa, than an uprising breaks out in 1543 among the Nfifa, where the fqih ^{c}Abdallah is agitating the country by referring to the Almohades, whose very name has remained a symbol of independence for the Masmouda. In order to put an end to him in the mountains of the Seksawa, it is necessary to send against him an army led by the Christians, alone capable of fighting against the spells of this sorcerer (2).

2. Marmol, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 70, 123, 124.

Shortly afterward the "sheiks of Mount Atlas," doubtless in the region of the Demsira and Seksawa, refuse to pay the "kharaj" tax, which they rightly regard as illegal. Cleverly enticed onto the plain, eleven of them are taken to Marrakech, where their heads are cut off (1547). Meanwhile El Harran, the Sultan's brother, exerts himself to keep the plain calm and deals severely with the marabouts. The Sous contingents participate again in the taking of Fez, but news of the Tlemcen disaster in 1550 gives the signal for the general revolt of the Atlas. El Harran's death carries the Berbères' /Berbers'/ audacity to its peak. Their war chief, Sidi Mohammed, puts the mountains in a state of defense

/90 cont./

*175 and makes an alliance with a rebel /91/ from the plain, Sidi Saᶜid, who holds the fortress of "Peignol," on a rock at the foot of the mountains, not far from Taroudant. In vain the Sultan sends an army of Turks and renegades. Defeated and captured by the Berbères /Berbers/ while crossing the Atlas, these mercenaries end up by swelling the contingents of the montagnards and teaching them how to fight better (1).

1. Diego de Torres, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 152, 159, 168, 211.

This revolt in addition was to be fatal to Mohammed el Mahdi. In the course of an expedition among the Demsira, while he was camping with his harka at Aglagal, on the Tizi Maᶜcho trail, a Turkish officer belonging to his militia, a traitor in the service of the sultan of Stamboul /Istanbul/, assassinated him and cut off his head. The emissaries from Constantinople carried it away salted, in a haversack, to their country, where it was exhibited as a trophy. All the Sultan's companions met death in this disaster (1557) (2).

2. Cour, op. cit., p. 129.

Moulay ᶜAbdallah El Ghaleb Billah, son of Mohammed el Mahdi, was taking over the power in difficult conditions. The Turks, his enemies, were relying on the religious sect of the Qadiriya, rival of the Chadiliya /Shadhiliya/, and were supporting pretenders in the North. Only the support of the Berbère /Berber/ marabouts was able to save the Sultan. "If you abandon me," he was then writing to Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa El Jazouli of the Tazerwalt, "I shall be able neither to safeguard my life nor to find a refuge on earth." This weakness of the sherifian power became greater still when, El Ghaleb having shamelessly allied himself with Christian Spain against the Turks, the religious leaders of the South withdrew their support from him and made themselves independent. For several years they represented the

/91 cont./

*175 only authority to which the tribes could turn. During the crisis of anarchy that followed El Ghaleb's death (1574), it was with one of these marabouts, Abou ^{c}Abdallah Mohammed ben Ou Sa^{c}doun, that Mohammed el Motawakkel, El Ghaleb's son, came twice seeking refuge, in the highest region of the Atlas mountains, accompanied by the pious biographer Ibn ^{c}Askar (1577). The holy man predicted to his host, driven from Fez and Marrakech, an imminent return of fortune; but these wishes could not protect him from the attacks of his uncle Ahmed, brother of the sultan ^{c}Abd el Malek. It is known how El Motawakkel, allied with the Christians, perished with them the following year in the disaster of the Oued el Mkhazen /*sic*/.

/92/ VI. *The reign of Ahmed el Mansour.* -- The sultan Ahmed el Mansour, whose glorious reign has so often been celebrated, was unable to change notably the anarchical situation of the South of Morocco. A brother of the sultan, Abou Faris, received command of the Sous, but he remained shut up in Taroudant (1).

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1. El Oufrani, *Nozhet el Hâdi*, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

Actually, since the assassination of Mohammed Ech Cheikh in 1557, the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ no longer, it seems, had any ambition in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ other than to hold the great routes of passage by constructing casbahs entrusted to reliable guards. Doubtless it was at this time that the fortresses of Frouga, Qehira, Imi n Tanout, Ben Takemous, and Ameskroud were constructed or restored in order to mark out the Tizi Ma^{c}cho trail. The sultan Ahmed el Mansour himself wrote to his son to recommend that he make every effort to have this route adopted by all. The use of another road, which the people were trying to impose on travelers across their territory, "would have," he said, "ruined the country if it had become permanent." The authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised, however, in certain regions of the Deren, doubtless between the

/92 cont./

*175 Nefis, the pass of the Glawa, and the Sirwa. A command had been entrusted to the kaid ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz ben Saᶜid El Mezwari el Ouzgiti, born in Taroudant, vizier of Ahmed el Mansour. This leader probably belonged to the same family as the Mezwar of the Dra and referred to an Almohade origin, which assured him of great prestige with the tribes. A man of great ambition and extensive knowledge, if one judges by his library, which contained, it is said, 50,000 volumes, he preserved his personal position a very long time; and it was with him that Abou Fares, beaten by Moulay Zidan, came later to seek refuge (1).

1. El Oufrani, Nozhet el Hâdi, Houdas trans., pp. 174-274.

In the western part of the great chain, on the contrary, anarchy did not cease developing. After his accession, Ahmed el Mansour had had to pursue his nephew, Daoud ben ᶜAbd el Moumen, who had had himself proclaimed king among the Seksawa. An expedition had driven him from there, but this rebel settled in the Anti-Atlas, where it was again necessary to pursue him as far as the edge of the desert. A Portuguese traveler who was crossing the passes in the region of the Tizi Maᶜcho in 1596 noted there the state of rebellion of a marabout, doubtless Sidi ᶜAbdallah ben Saᶜid of the Haha (2).

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2. Anonymous Portuguese, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, first series France, Vol. II, p. 256.

/93/ VII. The great maraboutic crisis (1603-1660). -- It is above all after the death of Ahmed el Mansour (1603) that the religious leaders are going to assert their power; but even during his reign they continue to strengthen their political organization so well adapted to Berbère /Berber/ life. Perhaps it is possible, in

/93 cont./

*175 spite of the insufficiency of our documents, to indicate under what conditions their power was able to develop.

When they appear in a tribe, the founders of zaouias at first have no influence other than that given them by their learning, their personal worth, and their authority over hundreds of disciples. But little by little their centers of operation multiply and hive off by degrees. The framework of the small states that they formed can still be found again today by counting the tombs of saints and the maraboutic groupings presently without importance, widespread in an area whose boundaries most often remain quite precise. Thus, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en Na^{c}im founds at the beginning of the sixteenth century the zaouia of the Aït Daoud among the Haha. His son ^{c}Abdallah, already threatened by the sultans because of his independence, settles down in the mountains in the region of the summits (1).

> 1. The zaouia of Berada, which does not appear to us to have been identified up to now. We believe it to be distinct from that of the Aït Daoud and from that of the Aït Tamment.

His grandson Yahya Abou Zakarya comes among the Aït Tamment on the south versant of the Atlas, by approaching Taroudant (2).

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> 2. Ibn ^{c}Askar, *Daouhat en Nâchir*, Graulle tr., *Archives Marocaines* /Moroccan Archives/, XIX, p. 176.

Each new zaouia is a center from which new colonies leave, following the valleys, to the point where, in the legend, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en Na^{c}im, whose sons have settled everywhere in the best irrigated lands of the country, could subsequently acquire the reputation of having in former times been a great discoverer of springs. The boundary of this pacific occupancy of the country by the family of Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en Na^{c}im appears to have been

/93 cont./

*175 the chain of the Atlas to the North and to the South and the Asif el Mal to the East (3).

3. Three sons of Sidi Yahya, Sidi Benso, Sidi Saᶜid, and Sidi Brahim, are buried among the Aït Haddious, the highest fraction of the Seksawa. A descendant of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim is venerated among the Amesmatert (Gedmiwa). (F. de la Chapelle's note.)

One would likewise find in the region of the Haha other traces of maraboutic organizations, doubtless of lesser importance, but realized in the same form. The sons of Sidi Mehend Ouchchen did this among the Haha, and in a little different way, by keeping a still more complete centralization, the descendants /94/ of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli, who have remained up to our day the religious and political counselors of the Ida Ou Tanan. This religious colonization of the Moroccan South is analogous to the one that is still going on under our eyes in the mountains of the Rif, where, for example, the Khemalcha hem in the tribes of the Senhaja of Srair with an irresistible grip by the network of their zaouias.

Bearers of baraka, animators of the holy war, teachers of religious knowledge, the marabouts at first see the gifts flow into their zaouias and collect the tithe that each one scrupulously pays to them. The sultans do not dare subject them to the tax. For wanting to impose the "naïba" on the sons of Sidi El Khalid ben Yaha el Masmoudi under the pretext that "all Mussulmans are equal in this case," the Saadian Mohammed Ech Cheikh had been struck, it is said, with a serious illness, from which only the intervention of the Saint's children could deliver him (1).

1. Ibn ᶜAskar, *op. cit.*, *Arch. marocaines* /Moroccan Archives/, XIX, pp. 195-198.

/94 cont./

* 175 The zaouias thus founded and maintained by the piety of the faithful constitute inviolable shelters where the guilty come to take refuge. They are especially caravansaries where the master gives liberal hospitality. Ibn ᶜAskar describes for us with admiration the sumptuous table of the saintly ᶜAbd el Kerim el Fellah of Marrakech, and the marvels accomplished by another sheik, Abou Mohammed ᶜAbdallah el Kouch, great feeder of peoples, by the permission of God. Mohammed Ousaᶜdoun, at the summit of the Deren, in a land without crops and without barley, accomplished the same prodigies, and Sheik Abou ᶜAmar, another thaumaturge, while dying had declared to his descendants: "Close the door of hospitality henceforth; do nothing of what I have done. That is a divine mystery, the secret of which is possessed only by him to whom God has unveiled it." "If one meditates on these mysteries," adds the pious biographer, "it is necessary to recognize that only those who would open the chambers of public treasuries or whom divine . generosity would come to assist could be equal to similar liberalities" (2).

2. Ibn ᶜAskar, op. cit., trans., pp. 173-185.

By the afflux of pilgrims and beggars, the marabouts ceaselessly extend their political relationships; called to arbitrate disputes, to stop the conflicts of fractions, they institute truces, impose their decisions, thanks to the fear in which their curse is held. Even granting their protection to fairs /95/ and markets, they little by little come to supervise all the activity of the tribes that they keep in peace. From then on it is enough if the sultan appeals to their authority or solicits their support in a difficult period, in order for their situation as true masters of the country to be officially authorized. A modest tribute addressed to the sovereign barely calls to mind the former bond with the Makhzen /makhzan/, which stops exerting any direct authority in the region that they have colonized, while they themselves doubtless succeed in appropriating for their benefit the contributions raised.

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*175 With what haughtiness will they soon treat the temporal power, which they consent to protect on the condition that it follow their advice! The sheik Abou ᵓlHasan ᶜAli ben Abou ᵓlQasem Es Sandjai, a man of noble rank and great worth, approaches the kings with only this brief polite formula: "Greeting," then in a severe tone he prescribes the good for them and forbids them the bad. The correspondence exchanged at that time between the Saadians and the important marabouts of the Haha must be read in order to see the freedom with which the religious leaders are prodigal with their advice, and in a tone which no longer permits knowing who the true rulers are (1).

1. Nozhet El Hâdi, p. 346 and sqq.

Sometimes, however, the sultan is disturbed and tries to act severely; but it seems that an attitude of revolt further exalts the religious lords, who draw a large part of their strength from the independent mountain tribes. The hostility of Ahmed el Mansour causes the descendants of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim to settle down among the Seksawa, and in the high mountains where they become invulnerable, while the sons of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa assemble around them in the western Anti-Atlas the forces of the Igezzoulen, away from the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

VIII. The maraboutic principalities of the Sous. -- From the first years of the seventeenth century, after the death of Ahmed el Mansour, the impotence of the Saadian dynasty becomes conclusive. The various pretenders, El Mansour, ᶜAbdallah, Zidan, and Abou Farès, dispute the regions located south of the Atlas. More than ever the Sous serves as refuge for the candidates to the throne whom success betrays. Finally, Moulay Zidan succeeds in keeping a precarious power in Marrakech until his death in 1627, but the rest of the country escapes him /96/ entirely. It is by means of this decline of sherifian authority that leaders of maraboutic principalities make new progress. We see them become the absolute masters of small states; they wage war for themselves and extend their dominion over tribes ever more numerous.

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*175 The adventure of El Mahalli in Marrakech in 1612 gives us the occasion to observe this new development of maraboutic power. Abou ʾlAbbas Ahmed ben ʿAbdallah, surnamed Abou ʾlMahalli, a scholar famed for his knowledge of law and mystical doctrines, established far from the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ authority in the Saoura wadi, had passed himself off as a reformer of customs and soon as the awaited Fatimid. The movement of religious indignation and reaction against the Saadians that had followed the ceding of Larache to Spain in 1610 had seemed to this new Mahdi favorable for attempting to drive the weak Moulay Zidan from Marrakech. The latter, having taken refuge in Safi, made an urgent appeal for the protection of Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, grandson of Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim of the Haha, then all-powerful in the western Atlas, to re-establish him on his throne. After some hestitation the marabout assembled his contingents: they were not only the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Deren, but also those of the Anti-Atlas from the Chtouka to the Ida Ou Kensous, whom the Chebbanat Arabs, maternal uncles of Moulay Zidan, had joined. After a fight waged at Imi n Tanout, Sidi Yahya put to flight the army of his adversary, who was killed at the Gueliz, and even established himself in the palace of Moulay Zidan (1613). The temptation to take supreme power for himself was great, and it indeed seems, according to El Oufrani, that for an instant the marabout had the dream of having himself proclaimed Sultan. But the Berbères /Berbers/ of his army, perhaps the Igezzoulen subject to the family of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, rival of his own, refused to aid him in his projects; he came back to his mountains and contented himself with using all his influence to direct from the depths of his zaouia the policies of Moulay Zidan, who had come back to his capital (1).

1. *Nozhet el Hadi*, *ibid*. -- Moulay Zidan had been obliged to struggle, even in Marrakech, against other, too enterprising marabouts. The sheik Abou Ishaq ben Ahmed,

/96 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ grandson of ᶜAbdallah ben Hosein of Tamesloht, whose mystical teaching stirred up the town, was thus pursued and fled to the tribe of the Souktana, where he died.

Henceforth turning his projects toward the Sous, Sidi Yahya made /97/ the decision to take possession of Taroudant, hitherto regarded as the town of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and to conquer his enemy, Abou ᵓlHasan ᶜAli, grandson of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, better known under the name of Sidi ᶜAli. The two adversaries waged furious battles, but Sidi Yahya died in 1626, before having succeeded in putting all of the Sous under his authority (1).

1. Nozhet el Hadi, pp. 325-346.

For a few more years his sons fought the marabout of the Tazerwalt, who had in turn become master of a powerful State; then the family of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim little by little lost its influence in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and soon disappeared forever from the political life of the South.

After the death of Moulay Zidan in Marrakech, his successors no longer had more than a shadow of power, to the point where we see them struggle with difficulty against uprisings at the very gates of the capital (2).

2. Nozhet el Hadi, p. 423.

Sidi ᶜAli, rid of his rival Sidi Yahya, organized to his liking the kingdom that he had conquered in the Sous with the support of the Igezzoulen. In the same period the provinces of the North of Morocco were also breaking up and falling into the hands of the holy-war leaders, such as El ᶜAyachi and Ghilan at Salé and in the Habt, or into those of marabouts, such as the masters of the zaouia of Dila in the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. One can observe, moreover, that the evolution of the power of these

/97 cont./

* 175 marabouts of Dila continued and seemed to be a replica of that of the sons of Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en Na^{c}im, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa in the Sous; likewise animated by the confidence that the independent tribes showed them, having become, like them, in the third generation, the leaders of a veritable State, they scorned the sultans and tried to establish their dominion in the plains of the North. Only the Filalian shorfa /shurfa/ were going to succeed in destroying their power.

Thus, after a century and a half Morocco was coming back to the state of anarchy that the Saadians had known at their beginnings; but while in the fifteenth century the parceling had usually been done for the benefit of tribal chiefs, Almohade sheiks, of Mérinide pretenders, at present the different parts of the Empire, except for Marrakech, were finding themselves in the power of the Chebbanat Arabs, subject to religious personages. It was reserved for the new dynasty, coming from the Tafilelt, to resume a policy /98/ of the Makhzen /makhzan/ exclusively based tribally on the co-operation of temporal leaders.

IX. The life of the tribes during the maraboutic period. -- During the period of anarchy and maraboutic reaction, what had been the inner life of the tribes that, in the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, had found their independence again? Without any doubt the large commands of the Mérinide period in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which had been prolonged for some time yet with the support of the Hintata, had been swept away in all the regions where the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ did not have the strength to implant itself. The era of the "mountain kings" and lords of the Dra is then closed for a time. One sees their successors appearing from all sides in the sixteenth century, minor sheiks, probably maintained by these councils of "gentlemen who keep the peace" in the regions described by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and Marmol. Capable of uniting in order to designate a military leader, as in the great revolt of 1552, they did not any the less, by reason of their number, represent Berbère /Berber/ particularism, formed to limit its horizon to the narrow boundaries of a canton.

/98 cont./

*175 At the same time as local government was thus being reborn on all sides in the form of sheiks, amghars /heads of cantons/, or small republics whose diverse constitutions are sometimes indicated to us by Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, the Islamization of the Moroccan South was being achieved, thanks to the holy war and to the efforts of the marabouts. From this time on, religious law is substituted little by little for Berbère /Berber/ custom, for the "orf" of the tribes; now it replaces it, for example, when the Saadian Makhzen /makhzan/ takes the government of the country into its hands (1),

1. Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 153.

then again it corrects it in order to make it conform to the divine law. This juridical activity was going to make of the Sous the fatherland of scholars and talebs and, up to the end of the nineteenth century, the blessed land of the zaouias.

X. The Filalian shorfa resume the struggle against the marabouts. -- The first Filalians are not, as has indeed been pointed out (2),

2. Cour, op. cit., p. 185.

simple "moujahidin," holy-war leaders, but shorfa /shurfa/ who, having come from the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, thanks to successful military adventures, have with their own forces gradually gained power /99/ in the midst of general anarchy. They owe nothing to the marabouts who helped the rise -- and later facilitated the ruin -- of the Saadians. So they are going to be able to persist in getting rid of these religious leaders whose authority, so naturally accepted by the Berbères /Berbers/, remains threatening for the Makhzen /makhzan/ and in addition perhaps is secretly supported by the Turks, declared enemies of the dynasty.

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*175 As soon as Moulay Rechid /Mulai Arshid, Mulay Rashid/ had taken possession of Fez in 1667, he made an attack on the zaouia of Dila, the most dangerous because of its power and the ambition of its masters. After leveling it, he advanced on Marrakech unexpectedly and put out of the way the usurper Kerroum el Hajj, who had had the last of the Saadians, Moulay el ᶜAbbas, assassinated ten years earlier. Finally, penetrating into the valley of the Sous by way of the country of the Haha and subjugating the tribes frightened by his arrival, he seized the Chtouka from the country of the Ahel Sahel, defenders of the kings of the Tazerwalt, and after a stubborn resistance took the fortress of Illigh, which had been the center of the power of Sidi ᶜAli (1670-71) (1).

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1. De Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures* /Historical Research on the Moors/, Vol. III, Paris, 1787, pp. 355-356.

At the time of the arrival of the Filalian Makhzen /makhzan/, the South of the Sous had just known a period of prosperity. Since the death of his rival, Sidi Yahya Abou Zakarya, the grandson of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, Sidi ᶜAli, who was also called Abou Hassoun or again Sidi Boudmeia, had extended his dominion as far as the high valley of the Dra and of the Dadès; taking sovereign power, he had even put up the parasol, which had become the emblem of royal authority in the Maghreb. The happy memory of his reign, which lasted until 1660, is faithfully preserved in tradition; the country moreover was no longer to find again later such an era of riches.

At this time, as a matter of fact, when the commercial relations of the Sous with Marrakech and Fez were interrupted because of the insecurity, the caravans were heading toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ in order to transport there manufactured

/99 cont./

Y.175 objects from Europe and coming back loaded with gold powder and ivory from the Sudan (2).

> 2. Réponses à plusiers questions sur les États du Roy de Tafilelt /Answers to several questions on the States of the King of Tafilalet/, Paris, 1670, pp. 50-71.

We know from the sailors and Christian traders what attention Sidi ᶜAli gave to maritime commerce. He had forbidden the use of Agadir, whose activity he could not control perfectly. Massat had become his port: "The traffic there is /100/ very good," a traveler tells us, "the more so as the Santon has assistance there so that, after having had his passport, the merchants can go ashore freely and carry their merchandise there, indeed display it there in tents, and this without any peril of slavery, for the said santon neither wishes nor permits one to make slaves other than the Spanish and those who also do it."

The Hollanders were then making great efforts to establish an important trade movement in this region and, to ingratiate themselves with Sidi ᶜAli, were offering him, to the great scandal of the other sailors, munitions, arms, material for naval construction: "wood, carpenters, masts, oars, ready-made chains for chaining Christians." Admiral Ruyter, himself sent on a mission by the United Provinces, was received with consideration by the sons of Sidi ᶜAli, without succeeding, however, in setting up profitable agreements with the country (1).

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> 1. De Castries, Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc /Unpublished Sources on the History of Morocco/, France, first series, Vol. III, p. 365; Pays-Bas /Low Countries/, Vol. V, pp. 571, 583, 614, 616, 627.

Concern for maintaining trade relations with the Moroccan ports of the insurgent provinces of the Empire was moreover, at

/100 cont./

*175 this epoch, the constant preoccupation of the Christian powers. This desire corresponded at the same time to the concern that the pretenders had for taking in fresh stores of war material. Moulay Rechid, at the outset, had welcomed in the same manner, with the greatest hopes, the mission of Roland Fréjus on the coasts of the Rif. More and more, European armaments were going to play their role in the internal affairs of the Sherifian Empire.

Under these conditions one understands that Moulay Rechid's primary concern was to put a stop to this traffic, dangerous for the security of the Empire, and to seize the Tazerwalt.

The success of Moulay Rechid in the Sous was facilitated moreover by the incapacity of the successors of Sidi ᶜAli, whose 22 sons and several brothers were making war on one another, taking by turns Taroudant, Ifran, Tagaost, Illigh, Agadir. The one of them who had won out, Abou ᶜAbdallah Mohammed, was poisoned in Fez; after this blow struck by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the marabouts of the Tazerwalt lost all political authority for 100 years (2).

[113] 2. Ez Zaiani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Paris, 1886, Houdas trans., p. 22.

XI. The government of the Makhzen in the Sous under the Filalians. /101/ -- We have shown in the preceding pages what the agitated life of the Sous had been in the time of the greatest glory of the Mérinide dynasty; it is not without interest to compare with that picture the one of the reign of the greatest of the Filalian shorfa.

Upon the death of Moulay Rechid, killed by his horse in Marrakech in 1672 when he was receiving a deputation of the Sous tribes, Moulay Ismaᶜil, his brother, proclaimed sultan, succeeded in getting himself recognized only at the price of the greatest difficulties. His nephew, Ahmed Ben Mahrez, and the "moujahid" Ghilan, backed by the Turks, had themselves

/101 cont./

*175 proclaimed sovereigns. Ahmed ben Mahrez shut himself up in Marrakech, where the Sultan beseiged him for several years. New expeditions were undertaken among the Haha to raise large contributions and against the Chebbanat of the Atlas, of whom "a large number perished in the troubles." The Sultan had even advanced into the Sous as far as Aqqa, Tisint, and Chinguit, and had received the submission of the Arab tribes of the desert, but without succeeding in seizing Ahmed ben Mahrez.

As soon as the armies of Moulay Ismaᶜil had left again on the eastern frontier of the Empire, the pretender reappeared in the Sous, which he organized from then on to his liking. He divided the country into two provinces, the one administered by Taroudant, the other by Illigh; then, having made an alliance with a sheik of his kingdom, whose daughter he had married, he took the title of king, and even tried, it is said, to conquer the Sudan (1). His intrigues with the Turks soon made him, for Moulay Ismaᶜil, a formidable rival. Attacked by the Sultan himself at Taroudant, Ahmed ben Mahrez resisted desperately. In order to put an end to murderous battles, the two adversaries concluded a truce of several years. But, in 1684, el Harran, brother of Moulay Ismaᶜil, dismissed by him from the Tafilelt, fled to seek refuge with the king of the Sous. Having decided to finish it, the Sultan came back to besiege Taroudant. Ahmed ben Mahrez was killed before the town was taken, but the inhabitants were nonetheless exterminated and replaced with Riffians (1689).

Some years passed during which the Sous seemed to know a relative tranquillity. But the Sultan had numerous sons who, having scarcely come of age, tried to form a kingdom most quickly in the inaccessible regions. They /102/ preferably chose

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[113] 1. Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 398; Mouette, Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy /History of the conquests of Mulai Arshid/. Paris, 1683, p. 466.

/102 cont./

*175 the Sous as the theater of their exploits. In 1703 Mohammed el ^{c}Alem, the Sultan's son, in residence at Taroudant with 3,000 horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/, revolts and enters Marrakech by storm; his brother Zidan comes to drive him out and pursues him in the mountains for three years. Mohammed el ^{c}Alem, taken prisoner, loaded with chains, is led to his father, who cuts off one of his feet and a hand. Zidan succeeds his brother in Taroudant, after having once more exterminated the inhabitants of this rebel town.

Then come new pretenders: Moulay ben Sa^{c}id and another son of the Sultan, governor of Safi, who stirred up the Sous plain and the province of the Haha; they attack Moulay Zidan in Taroudant without success, and Moulay el Mamoun in the Tafilelt (1).

Moulay Zidan is assassinated in 1708. Finally, in 1721 Moulay ^{c}Abd el Malek, who resides in Taroudant and commands the part of the Sous near Agadir, refuses to pay to his father the tribute of the province. Besides, it seems as though the Sultan's old age is in itself the cause of a recrudescence of anarchy. Actually, although Moulay Isma^{c}il has manifested the intention of having his eldest son designated as successor, each of the heirs, sure of being assassinated when the latter takes power, tries to form a party so as to be able at least to try his luck on the day after the "siba."

When the old Sultan died, if one is to believe the historian minister Ez-Zayani, the country enjoyed the most complete security, and, according to the time-honored expression, a Jew or a woman could move about from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/ to Oudjda "without anyone's venturing to ask them where they

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[113] 1. Relation des trois voyages /Relation of the three journeys/, etc. of the Pères de la Mercy /Fathers of Mercy/, Paris, 1744, p. 148 and sqq.

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*175 were coming from or where they were going" (2).

2. Ez Zaiani, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

What we have seen of Sous history during that great reign makes us doubt it. But nonetheless it is certain that Moulay Ismaᶜil had done much to ensure, for want of the tranquillity of the provinces, at least the security of the roads. The innumerable casbahs that he had built at the road posts and on the important mountain passages were entrusted to the care of a large black army, which was called the "ᶜAbid," the slaves; it was also easier to control the disarmed tribes especially north of the Atlas. But this creation -- the most original of the administrative achievements of the /103/ great Sultan -- was to be fatal to his successors. It was the "ᶜAbid" who sided with the pretenders.

From 1727 to 1757 there were no fewer than twelve proclamations of sultan; and Moulay ᶜAbdallah, who won out over his brothers, Moulay Ahmed Dehbi, Moulay ᶜAbd el Malek, Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜArbia, Moulay el Mostadi, Moulay Zin el ᶜAbidin, was recognized six times and obliged to take flight five times. In 1733 he had undertaken for the first time a campaign to pacify the Sous, and a little later, forced to seek refuge as far as the Oued Noun /Uad Nuñ/ with his maternal uncles, the Meghafra, he was living in the desert with his young son Sidi Mohammed, the one who fortunately was subsequently to succeed him.

One can think without risk of error that these dynastic wars, whose theater was especially the Tafilelt and the plains of the North, gave to the tribes of the South of Morocco the chance to recapture the freedom that they had had to give up off and on during the preceding reign.

XII. *The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah and the founding of Mogador.* -- The reign of Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah marks a new era for the Moroccan South. Henceforward the marabouts, completely eliminated from the Sous

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*175 or reduced to a strictly religious role, ceased attracting the Sultan's attention. The policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is asserted at the same time by the founding of the port of Mogador and by the organization of the command among the Haha and in the plains. Decisions made at that time by Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah will be upheld by his successors, and their consequences will make themselves felt in the social and economic life of the country up to our day.

From having grown up in exile in the Sahara and having carried out, in his father's reign, an expedition in the Sous, with the purpose of putting in irons a band chief, the Taleb Salah, who then held Agadir (1),

1. Ez Zaiani, op. cit., p. 126.

Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah had learned to know the dangers that threatened the security of the Empire in that distant region. In order to put an end to them, he had the idea of closing the Berbère /Berber/ coast of the South to European trade and to found at Mogador, at a point that would always remain under the direct surveillance of the /104/ agents of the Makhzen /makhzan/, a port and a modern town open to Christians (1765). The creation of the new town, to which was given the name of Souira, would also be part of a larger commercial and fiscal plan; Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah was hoping, by establishing foreign traders in all the towns of the coast, to bring about a sizable movement of trade, thanks to which he could establish new taxes and set up a commercial monopoly for the benefit of the Treasury. The emptiness of the coffers of the "Bit el Mal" gave this project particular interest (1).

1. Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 466 and sqq.

Sidi Mohammed's hopes were vain. The tax yield was very small and the Christian merchants, ceaselessly molested by the

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*175 amins /directors/ of the customs, quickly ceased to contribute to the traffic of Souira. But another result was attained without difficulty: henceforth, all the trade of the Far South was concentrated in the new port; the caravans went back up by following the coast of the Haha to Mogador; the presence of a sizable Jewish colony in touch with all the mellahs /ghettos/ of the Sous and the Anti-Atlas permitted definitively establishing the new commercial position of the town of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

The move was in the long run deeply resented by the populations of the Anti-Atlas; the manufactured objects, more and more necessary to life, arrived in the Far South at high prices because of the middlemen and long transport; the sale of local products became more difficult; importation of arms and gunpowder was hampered. The disappearance of maritime trade on the coast, against which the Igezzoulen and the Arabs of the Noun /Nun/ vainly tried to react in the nineteenth century, thus had the effect of creating a noticeable economic depression, all the more dangerous for the country because it was less rich and fertile. More than ever a temporary exodus became necessary in order to ensure the subsistence of a large population, settled on an unfruitful soil, in a climate already subject to the influences of the desert. The Sous became weaker and its rebellions became, as the Makhzen /makhzan/ had wished, less dangerous for the Empire.

The Sultan had tried at the very first to utilize, like his predecessors, the black army formed by Moulay Isma'il, but a bloody revolt in 1776 turned him away from this practice. He tried /105/ from then on to use to his advantage, in order to support his provincial governors, some tribes chosen from among both the most warlike and the easiest to keep obedient. By arming them, he could thus more readily levy taxes on the neighboring tribes, at first less easy; thanks to them, he directed against the rebels expeditions of pillage, the threat of which usually sufficed to break down the first resistance. The most important of these "Makhzen tribes," whose command was organized with care, was that of the Haha. At this period two families destined to play an important

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*175 role in the nineteenth century in the service of the Empire were chosen by the Sultan to give chiefs to the tribes of the Haha and Mtougga: the Aït Bihi and the Aït Mousa.

In spite of the attention given by Sidi Mohammed to the problems of the South, the political situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous remained precarious to the end of his reign. Little by little, the chiefs of the Tazerwalt reassumed their authority over the Anti-Atlas tribes; the maraboutic state of Sidi ᶜAli was reconstituted, upheld by the Igezzoulen. Another rebel, ᶜAli el Hajj, who commanded the Tekna, was on the Noun at Goulimin /Goulimine/. In the subject regions the cost of living rose ceaselessly, taxes were heavier, and, in spite of the ruler's efforts, one observed "an increase in the oppression and misery of the peoples." Above all, for the future, the dangers of unrest of the preceding reigns existed; in particular, the number of the Sultan's sons enabled Chénier to announce for certain that upon his death pretenders would appear from every side.

There was one point, however, that the vigilance of the sherifian government did not neglect: the marabouts remained the object of active surveillance. In 1772, 3,000 visionaries armed with sticks, who had arrived in Marrakech from the South under the leadership of a marabout announcing the end of the reign, had been vigorously dispersed; and it was reported that Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah, with his own hand, had killed "several Moors who were in veneration of holiness or marabouts that he believed to be Turkish agents" (1).

It is certain that these rigorous measures had the effect of throwing back to the ill-favored confines of the Empire, in the middle valley of the Dra and on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, the /106/ heads of zaouias whose activity remained suspect, even dangerous, during the periods of anarchy. The attention given to this peril was to produce the results: in the course of the

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1. Chénier, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 464-484.

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*175 nineteenth century temporal power became unrivaled, and the zaouias themselves often paid the tithe to the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

XIII. Weakness of the sherifian government in the reign of Moulay Sliman. -- Upon the death of the sultan Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah in 1790, anarchy broke out as had been foreseen. Moulay Yazid having been proclaimed in the Gharb, Marrakech and the Haouz recognized his brother, Moulay Hicham, who was relying on the powerful kaids of Safi and the Doukkala. The death of Moulay Yazid in 1792 had as a consequence the accession of Moulay Sliman in Fez, while other brothers of the Sultan, Moulay el Hosein, Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman, agitated separately. It was Moulay Sliman, however, who won out and came to Marrakech in 1795. By good luck the great epidemic of cholera took place and wreaked its havoc in the provinces of the South where the pretenders were: "It was through it that God delivered the Sultan from the embarrassments that his brothers created for him" (1):

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1. Ez Zaiani, op. cit., p. 181.

all three died affected by the scourge. From then on Moulay Sliman knew several years of peace in his empire. But the end of his reign was darkened by the Berbère /Berber/ revolts of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ under the leadership of the marabout Amhaouch. Successive defeats, and even the capture of the Sultan by the neighboring tribes, seriously damaged sherifian prestige. Finally, there took place, one year before the death of the sultan Moulay Sliman, the affair of the Cherradi zaouia near Marrakech, during which he was again taken prisoner by the rebels.

Under the authority of this weak Sultan, the Moroccan South nevertheless was more subdued than it had been under the greatest rulers. After a long period of internal wars, at the time of the "siba of the seven years," which coincided with the pretenders' struggle, from 1790 to 1797, an energetic military leader, Mohammed ben Yahya Aghennaj, originally from the north of the

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*175 Haha, undertook in the name of the Sultan successful campaigns in the plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka; he subjugated and organized for several years the Ida ou Tanan, so rebellious against the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/, drove from Illigh the marabout Sidi /107/ Hachem, who had succeeded in giving back the Tazerwalt part of its glory again; Aghennaj even reached the Noun and crossed the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, where his memory has been preserved up to the present; along his route, the "agadirs" /storehouse-fortresses/ of the Berbères /Berbers/ were knocked down, while he built fortresses to shelter garrisons in the plain at Biougra and Tiznit (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, Notes sur l'histoire du Sous /"Notes on the History of the Sous"/, Hespéris, 1925, p. 271; 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

But this work of twenty years was ephemeral; as soon as Aghennaj was dead, Sidi Hachem came back into his fortress and took back his mountain tribes, and it was at that time that there developed under his protection the great maraboutic fair of the Tazerwalt, the most important market in the South in the last century. In the subjugated plains, moreover, the attachment of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/ remained uncertain. This can be judged by the instructions given by Moulay ^{c}Abd er-Rahman to his vizier, the historian Akensous, sent on a mission to Taroudant. When the unfortunate affair of the Cherradi zaouia took place, this vizier, who was on a mission in Taroudant to re-establish order, received from his master instructions that suffice to show the weakness of the central power: "Leave everything in the state," it was said to him, "bring back with you the sheiks of the Sous, to whom you will promise our confidence and our support in all that they may ask of you" (2).

2. "Istiqsa." Archives Marocaines, Vol. X, p. 91.

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XIV. Insufficiency of the historical sources in the nineteenth century. Necessity for direct investigations. -- From the time of the reign of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1822-1859), the documents that might enable us to know the history of the Moroccan South become fewer and fewer. On the one hand, the writings of the historians Akensous and Ahmed en Nasiri show us the life of the Sherifian Empire under more and more conventional aspects; on the other hand, it seems as though, in the isolation in which it is shut up, the far Maghreb is seeing the activity of the dynasty and of the tribes diminish and that great deeds capable of striking the mind and fixing themselves in the memory are becoming rarer. For want of sufficiently complete texts by means of which we might be able to know what the Makhzen's /makhzan's/ policy in the South of Morocco had been for a century, tradition and the memory of the oldest old men can, however, suffice to /108/ enable us to find the major lines and understand the reaction that it evoked among the tribes.

By putting together, at the price of patient investigations, the thousand small events that stirred the Berbère /Berber/ mountain cantons, one can actually arrive at some knowledge of the deep life of this province precise enough in order to distinguish well the nature and the importance of the main political forces, which oppose one another, as we shall see, according to constant laws. Local history, thus reconstituted, is the web of the study that we are going to try to make of the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, of the birth and development of personal power, of the submission of the tribes to the Makhzen /makhzan/; but the fabric of this history is so uniform, the threads that cross one another in it are so numerous and so closely woven that it would perhaps be difficult to perceive at first, if we tried to make too complete an exposition here, the simple rules according to which the facts are connected. Therefore we shall limit ourselves, for the moment, to choosing from among the numerous pieces of information collected on the spot by our efforts the events that make known the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the reigns of the last Filalian sultans. In the course of our study of the

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*175 institutions, on the other hand, we shall draw besides from the 174 history of the tribes for the past century, applying ourselves to finding, among so many obscure struggles, the examples that make one understand how the transformation of the Sous province was brought about.

*175 XV. The policy of the Makhzen under Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman. -- In the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, sherifian policy relied, as during the preceding period, on the forces of the Arab or faithful Berbère /Berber/ tribes charged with keeping the more rebellious ones obedient. On the whole, the Atlas of the Masmouda remains little changed by the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/, but through the Telwet pass and the Tizi n Fedghat to the East on the one hand, by the coastal road of the Haha to the West on the other, leaders in the Sultan's service try to reach at a great distance the tribes of the Dadès, the Dra, the Feija, or the ones of the western Anti-Atlas. Finally, in the heart of the Sous plain, Taroudant forms another center that directs its activity toward the central Anti-Atlas.

In the coastal region the champion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is El Hajj /109/ ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, kaid of the Haha; the Sultan's enemy is the marabout of the Tazerwalt.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi appears about 1844 and in the South of Morocco takes over the tradition created by Aghennaj 50 years before. After reducing to impotence the minor kaids of the Mtougga, his rivals, whom he expels from their house of Bouaboud, he subjugates entirely the country of the Haha, whose tribes of the South have regained their independence; he immediately conquers the Ida Ou Tanan and establishes himself, as the Sultan's caliphate, in Taroudant and among the Chtouka of the plain; he draws to himself the minor chiefs of the fractions of the Dir, and with the aid of a sherif of the Haha, Moulay Idris, to whom he entrusted the command of Taroudant, he keeps all the tribes submissive in obedience.

The domain of the sherif of the Tazerwalt begins beyond the territory of the Chtouka, on the left bank of the Oulghas wadi. At Illigh, Sidi Hachem has recaptured, since the death of his enemy

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*175 Aghennaj, all his authority over the Igezzoulen. Assassinated about 1830, in the middle of the moussem /festival/, the leader of the Tazerwalt has as successor his sons Sidi ᶜAli, then Sidi Hosein. The latter soon governs his little State with a prestige equal to that of his father (1).

1. Justinard, op. cit., Hespéris, 1926, p. 351 and sqq.

To the south of the Anti-Atlas, in the country of the Tekna Arabs, weakened remains of the Maᶜqil tribes, mixed with Berbères /Berbers/ and haraten /Haratin/, the ancient preponderance of the town of Tagaost on the Noun has been replaced by that of the qsar /fortified place/ of Goulimin /Goulimine/. A family of rich merchants, the Oulad Beirouk, have command there and monopolize the Saharan trade toward Tombouctou /Timbuktu/. We see then the Chérif /Sherif/ of the Tazerwalt and the Beirouk unite to try to obtain from the Christian nations, especially England and France, the creation of a commercial agency on their coast in order thus to be able to escape the economic control that the sherifian Makhzen /makhzan/ has maintained over these distant regions since the creation of the port of Mogador (2).

[113] 2. Marty, Les Tribus de la Haute-Mauritanie /The Tribes of Upper Mauritania/, Paris, 1915, p. 72 and sqq.

The insurmountable difficulties of the bar /Fr. barre/ of the Ocean cause the project of the port of Assaka to be abandoned; later, the progress of French penetration in Senegal and the Sudan will lead to the disappearance of the caravan route from Goulimin /Goulimine/ to Tombouctou /Timbuktu/ and the commercial ruin of the markets of the Tazerwalt and the Noun.

/110/ XVI. The reign of Sidi Mohammed. -- The death of Sultan Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, the embarrassments of the Tetouan war, and famine cause a "siba" of five years in the western

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*105 Atlas and the Haut-Dra region, which ends only when the sultan Sidi Mohammed entrusts to his son Sidi el Hasan the government of the Moroccan South (1864).

Sidi el Hasan himself carries out a policing tour in the Sous and clashes, on the Oulghas wadi, with the Igezzoulen subject to Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt; unable to defeat them, he retires toward the North and conceives for the future the project of an expedition intended to re-establish the prestige of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Anti-Atlas and the Noun.

In the same period, troubles breaking out in the Sirwa region oblige the Sultan to send by way of the Telwet pass, as far as into the Feija, a harka entrusted to the kaid of Demnat; shortly afterward, the command of these distant regions is reorganized, and from then on we occasionally see appearing in the government of the tribes of the south versant of the central Atlas the minor kaid of the Glawa, Mohammed Ibibat el Mezwari, whose sons will later play an important role in the conquest of the Sous by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

The disturbance created in the western Atlas by the revolt of the Arab tribes of the Marrakech plain during the first years of Sidi Mohammed's reign and the battles that they wage against the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Dir require the Makhzen /makhzan/ to pay sustained attention to the intrigues of the minor chiefs of the land of the Masmouda. The pasha of the casbah, Brahim el Graw[illegible]then receives command of all the region included between Imi n Tanout and the valley of the Ourika; he multiplies the mountain commands and sees appearing in the Asif Nefis, without conceiving any fear for the future, the amghar of Tagontaft, Mohammed n Ait Lhasen, in rebellion against his master, the kaid of the Ouzgita from the Jebel Kik.

Finally, in 1868, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha and of the Sous, accused by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of maintaining relations with the marabout of the Tazerwalt that are dangerous for the security of the Empire, perishes, poisoned by order of the Sultan; his tribal command is cut up, while sherifian favor comes back for a time to the chiefs of the Mtougga. During

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long years the country of the Haha remains delivered up to anarchy and internal quarrels, fanned by the kaids of Bouaboud.

/111/ XVII. Moulay el Hasan and the Sous expeditions. -- Sidi Mohammed dies accidently, drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech at the time when his son, Sidi el Hasan, is exerting himself to re-establish order among the Haha (1874). Proclaimed sultan at Bou Riqi by the Haha sheiks themselves, on whom he confers the title of kaid in return for their loyalty, Moulay el Hasan from then on is going to apply himself for the 20 years of a difficult reign to struggling against anarchy and internal disorder in a country threatened by the unceasingly more apparent ambitions of the European nations.

At the same time that he is trying to strengthen the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by providing his mehallas with cannon and modern guns, Moulay el Hasan tries to make the exercise of his authority easier by breaking up the large commands and multiplying the number of minor kaids. The disadvantage of this system, however, is to increase abuses at the same time and to make more frequent the rivalries among these innumerable chiefs; but most often the personal prestige of the sovereign suffices to keep the country in order and completely avoid rebellion.

From the beginning of his reign, Moulay el Hasan was obliged to intervene to stop the struggle between the amghar Mohammed n Ait Lahsen of Tagontaft on the Haut-Nefis and the kaid of the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, which had lasted for nearly 20 years. A large harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sent against the amghar in the mountains in 1875, after the death of the pasha of the Marrakech casbah, Brahim el Grawi, had been defeated, and, in spite of his success, the chief of the Nefis was offering to submit to the Sultan. Moulay el Hasan recognized his power and gave him the title of kaid. By thus creating a new command of slight extent in the Atlas, the Sultan remained faithful to his principle of increasing the number of chiefs in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

The attention of the ruler, however, was turned by preference toward the Anti-Atlas at the extreme boundary of the

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*175 Empire. The Christian powers, who knew the weakness of sherifian authority on the Atlantic confines of the Dra, had the ambition to establish themselves on the coast of the Noun or of Mauritania by founding commercial settlements there. Spain, especially, was trying to occupy a point on the coast of the Sbouya, Ifni, which a reconnaissance missión had /112/ identified arbitrarily with Santa Cruz de Mar Pequena, where the inhabitants of the Canaries had possessed an ephemeral establishment four centuries before; it was pressing the sherifian government to carry out the clause of the treaty concluded at Tétouan in 1860, which granted it fishing grounds in that region. At the same time an English trader, Mackensie, had founded a prosperous branch at Tarfaya near Cape Juby without any authorization, while another establishment arose at Areksis among the Aït Baᶜ Amran, on the initiative of another Englishman, James Curtis. The latter had even made an agreement with the sheiks of the Aït Baᶜ Amran and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt with a view toward establishing a port.

The objections addressed by the Sultan to Great Britain having had no effect, one might fear that the Far South was on the point of definitely shaking off the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even falling into the power of the Christians. Moulay el Hasan decided to re-establish sherifian power there and at the same time to destroy the political power of the religious leaders of the Tazerwalt (1).

An army of 40,000 men was assembled in the Sous plain and at Tiznit; but the considerable difficulties of reprovisioning in a land of limited resources did not permit advancing to Goulimin.

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[113] 1. Cf. especially Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne* /Modern Morocco/, Paris, 1885, *passim*; Geranton, *Expédition de Moulay el Hasan dans le Sous* /"Moulay el Hasan's Expedition into the Sous"/ (*Revue de l'Afrique française*. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, September, 1924).

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*175 Nevertheless the notables from all the tribes, convoked at Tiznit, came to present themselves and were commissioned to oppose the conduct of the Christians, while recognizing, at least nominally, the sherifian power. Sidi Hosein alone abstained from coming and remained shut up in his fortress of Illigh, constructed on an inaccessible summit, and he contented himself with sending his son to represent him. Moreover, the size of the forces assembled by Moulay el Hasan did not permit a long stay in the country, because of the difficulties of reprovisioning. Before leaving the Sous, the Sultan gave the order to have the casbah of Tiznit rebuilt in a spot formerly occupied by the Makhzen /makhzan/, then set off toward the North with his army. The return by the route of the Haha, in a country without water, in the middle of summer, was very difficult.

The results of this first campaign were insignificant. The Sultan had scarcely left the country when the Howara and the /113/ Chtouka again made trouble in the plain of the Sous. The Christians had remained in place: Mackensie was even building a fortified house at Tarfaya on a little island, and Curtis was continuing his intrigues among the Sbouya.

In 1886 Moulay el Hasan decided to carry out a new expedition. This time he cleverly succeeded in winning over Sidi Hosein, who little by little became his adviser and gave him the moral support needed in order to obtain unreservedly the co-operation of the Igezzoulen. The sherifian army then reached Tiznit and Goulimin without difficulty, while Mackensie was abandoning Tarfaya. The title of kaid was given to numerous sheiks in all the plain of the Sous, and Sidi Hosein, who had unreservedly adopted the policy of the Sultan before his death, had as successor his son, Sidi Mohammed, named kaid of the Tazerwalt. This submission of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, however, marked the end of his political power and the disappearance of his prestige with the Berbères /Berbers/.

In all the Sous, only the Ida Ou Tanan refused to render homage to the sovereign. The sherifian mehalla, divided into several columns, reinforced by the various Sous tribes, then penetrated into the territory of these independent montagnards. For several

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* 175 weeks, as long as the contingents of the Makhzen /makhzan/ remained in the land, the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan recognized the authority of the Sultan. But immediately upon their departure the rebels put the kaid to death and burned his house.

Coming back from an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1891, the old ruler was induced to travel by way of the Telwet pass, where the whole army suffered from the cold. The clever welcome prepared for Moulay el Hasan by the kaid of the Glawa, Si el Madani, son of Mohammed Ibibat, made the fortune of the Telwet chiefs. They received the title of caliphates for the Tafilelt and above all obtained as gifts some guns and a cannon, which they were later to turn to their advantage most fortunately in the war of the tribes.

XVIII. The development of anarchy. The Protectorate. -- Death surprised Moulay el Hasan in the midst of his mehalla in the Gharb. That event gave the signal for the revolt of the populations of the South of Morocco against their kaids and the Makhzen /makhzan/. While most of the minor chiefs then shut themselves in their casbahs or sought refuge near marabouts' tombs, three kaids /114/ alone showed themselves capable of restoring order in their commands: ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, successor to the rivals of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, and whose house of Bouaboud, solidly built, resisted tribal assault several times; Si Tayeb Gontafi, son of the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, for whom Moulay el Hasan had acknowledged the title of kaid in 1875; Si el Madani Glawi of Telwet, the fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon presented by the Sultan.

In the valley of the Sous, after three years of anarchy, order was re-established in 1897 by a harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the command of Tiznit and of the Chtouka entrusted by the grand vizier Ba Hmad to a kaid of the Haha, Saᶜid Gellouli. The latter, in 1901, had as successor another chief of the same country, Ahmed Anflous Neknafi. Finally, Taroudant received a governor chosen from among the slaves of the Makhzen, the pasha Hoummo.

Upon the death of the vizier Ba Hmad in 1900, the three great chiefs of the Atlas seized the tribes of the Marrakech plain

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*175 and of the Haut-Sous /Upper Sous/, while the reign of the weak ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz was slipping away in Fez amid the intrigues of the Christian powers, and while the threat of the Rogui Bou Hamara against the towns of the North was making manifest to all the powerlessness of the Makhzen.

Soon events rushed forward, auguring the fatal crisis during which the Sherifian Empire was going to lose its independence. In 1907, at the time of the landing of French troops at Casablanca, the South of Morocco was separating from the provinces of the North: Marrakech was acclaiming as sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid, supported by the great kaid of the Glawa; at the same time Ma el ᶜAinin, a fanatical theologian from Mauritania, was preaching the holy war at Tiznit and, surrounded by his Saharan companions, was organizing for his benefit the siba in the Sous. The defeat of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, conquered by his brother Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid, has as a consequence the establishment of the new ruler and his grand vizier Si el Madani Glawi at Fez; but these changes stopped neither the conquest of the country of the Chawiya /Shawiya/ by France nor the development of anarchy in the north of Morocco. The massacre of the French troops at Fez was followed by the dismissal of the grand vizier El Madani, by the establishment of the Protectorate, and by the abdication of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid.

During these events the son of Ma el ᶜAinin, El Hiba, had himself proclaimed Sultan of the holy war at Tiznit among the Chtouka /115/ and the Aït BaᶜAmran in 1909. Crossing the Atlas in 1912, with contingents from all the tribes, he clashed with Sidi Bou Otman in the Marrakech plain, at the Mangin column. Put to rout, the pretender fled into the South, while the kaids of the Atlas submitted to France.

Gradually driven from the Sous plains toward the Anti-Atlas, in the course of the following years El Hiba showed himself incapable, in spite of Germany's support during the war, of resisting the pacification of the Moroccan South, brought about thanks to the efforts of a patient policy. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Sous plain, on the confines of the Dra and of the Tafilelt, General

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*175 Lyautey succeeded in making peace prevail by utilizing all the resources that the tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ could offer in order to achieve the subjugation of the tribes. At the same time, at Marrakech and in the mountains, the authority of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, who had become auxiliaries of our military action in the South, directed by General de Lamothe, was consolidated. This circumstance was to remove the Sous for ten years from the administrative transformation that was going to alter the old organization of the Empire so profoundly.

Thus European penetration was surprising Morocco during the early years of the twentieth century, in the course of a crisis of anarchy that did not differ essentially in nature from the periods of disturbance that the far Maghreb had known in the course of its history.

During the whole duration of the Filalian dynasty, for more than two centuries, there had been seen succeeding one another, in an almost regular alternation, the great rulers capable of making relative order prevail in the provinces, Moulay Ismaᶜil, Sidi Mohammed ben ᶜAbdallah, Moulay ᶜAbd er-Rahman, Moulay El Hasan; while the successors of these energetic sultans, Moulay ᶜAbdallah, Moulay Sliman, Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, had on the contrary shown themselves often incapable of stopping the spontaneous development of the "siba," always ready to break out on the occasion of dynastic crises.

Morocco, as we can observe it during the first years of our occupation, thus had remained like itself, and it was precisely the inability of its government to transform itself that was causing its fall at the time when the colonial expansion of the European peoples was imposing on the small states of /116/ Africa and the Orient the duty to be strong on pain of disappearing.

Nevertheless, in spite of this immobility of the empire of the Maghreb, the Filalian dynasty had asserted its domination in the South of Morocco during two centuries of effort with more resolution than the one that had preceded it: it had caused maraboutism and the brotherhoods to disappear from the Sous and had driven back to the summits of the Atlas or to the edge of the desert the

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*175 religious influences in Berbère /Berber/ country secretly hostile to the progress of the Sultan's power; henceforth no more than two opposing forces remained face to face: that of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and that of the tribes; two irreconcilable conceptions were colliding: the dream of a Mussulman Empire and that of Berbère /Berber/ anarchy. They are the ones that we are now going to see confronting each other, by studying here the phases of the political transformation of the province of the Sous, and it is their duel that, in various forms, will fill the lives of three generations whose agitated history we are going to study.

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Book II

The Berbère /Berber/ Republics

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First Chapter

The Types of Political Organization

I. The great commands of the South of Morocco. -- II. The internal organization of the great commands. -- III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- V. The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ before the development of the power of the great chiefs. -- VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that of Berbérie /Barbary/.

No spectacle is more appropriate for directing the traveler's attention toward the little-known regions of the province of the Sous than the aspect presented by Marrakech /Marrakesh/ to her visitors in the course of the first hours of their stay. By a strange paradox this great city, the most populous of the native towns of North Africa, whose noisy and unconstrained life allows itself to be penetrated so easily, seems to us isolated behind the immense enclosure of ramparts that protect it in the luminous solitude of

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000 the great plain of the South: nevertheless, its very existence could not be explained without the contribution of activity that ceaselessly comes to it from the mountains and valleys of the Deren in the form of humble caravans loaded with the precious products of the Saharan oases.

Marrakech, the old fortress of the Almoravide Makhzen /makhzan/, is in our day no more than an immense market. In vain have the great Almohade and Saadian dynasties erected monuments there that are the most faultless and the most expressive of the thought of their century. It seems as though city life has not completely succeeded in becoming acclimated, amidst the olive trees and palm trees, on this soil fertilized by the waters coming down from the Berbère /Berber/ Atlas. The capital of the South, although living from the provinces that surround it, retains an artificial character. As a matter of fact, around the mosques and palace ruins you perceive only a disorderly mass of poor dwellings in which /120/ are crowded the garden workers, the artisans, the prostitutes, and above all the tribal people, kept in the city for a few days by their business or pleasure. Moreover, one barely finds there a few functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, foreigners for the most part, but nothing of that educated bourgeoisie of Tlemcen, Fez, Rabat, and Salé, which makes of the towns of the North veritable cities whose intellectual, religious, and material existence still preserves some of the traditions of Andalusia.

Besides, for thirty years, the weakening of the Sultan's authority in Marrakech made the predominance of the rural contributions over the urban elements still more apparent. The pashas of the town and of the casbah, formerly coming from the Fez court with their entourage of cadis and secretaries, their escort of blacks and horsemen from the gich /gish; Arab tribes settled around the towns/, have in our day disappeared to make room for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. In the middle of the crowd of artisans and tribal countrymen pass the kaids and sheiks from the Atlas, whose easy gait shows well enough that at present they find themselves at home in a city where they have their houses and gardens. Powerful automobiles transport the intimates and slaves

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000 of the great chiefs of the South, while in his palace the pasha El Hajj Thami Glawi, originally from the summits of the mountains, absolute master of the capital and its environs, offers sumptuous hospitality to his European visitors.

This simple picture, which a few hours' walk enables us to sketch, makes us divine the progress that the growing influence of the Berbère /Berber/ country has been able to make in a few years in this capital of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Not only is the economic activity of Marrakech linked with that of the vast mountainous territory whose boundary to the South of the great plain is marked by the barrier of the Atlas, but its very political life is today dominated by that of the Masmoudian tribes, which the Mérinide /Marinide/ and Saadian dynasties fought and feared for so long.

If we want to understand the social and political life of the South of Morocco, it is therefore not in the capital that one must try to discover its laws, but rather in the mysterious domain of the great chiefs, whose intrigues and rivalries still continue in our day, scarcely masked by the still-fragile façade of the new institutions improvised here by the Protectorate.

*631 I. The great commands of the South of Morocco. -- In this /121/ region of the commands of the South, which remained closed to European penetration for so long, let us imagine that we are setting out by small stages across the trails of the mountains of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in order to reach the valley of the Sous wadi and the first slopes of the Anti-Atlas. Horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/, faithful to their masters, accompany us; let us allow them to describe the situation of the country as it appears to the minds of the great chiefs and especially as they deem wise to show it to strangers (1).

1. In this description of the country, we are carrying ourselves back in thought to the period when the great commands had not yet undergone transformation as a consequence of the development of our political action, that is, before 1924.

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*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

[101] 2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt.
[792] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld,
[795] is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their
*631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this
159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan
175 Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

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*631 159 (175) succeeded in again extending his power further after the submission of the chiefs of the South to France. The death of that great policy, which took place in 1919, did not lead to the ruin of his work; his nephew, Si Hammo, received in his inheritance most of the mountain tribes; his young /122/ brother in particular, El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, was consequently able to play an important role in the pacification of Morocco. His military and political successes earned for him the highest distinctions. Through his cleverness in gaining the support of the highest authorities by multiplying sumptuous receptions, the pasha acquired the reputation of an all-powerful and magnificent leader, and he willingly appears to foreigners as the viceroy of the South of Morocco.

In the upper valley of the Nefis dwells the old Si Tayeb Gontafi, already famous in the reign of Moulay el Hasan for his courage, ambition, and immense wealth. Although his political fortune has not been as brilliant as that of the Telwet chiefs, from his medieval burg of Tagontaft or his picturesque dwelling of Talat n Yaqoub he governs five large mountain tribes in the very center of this country which in former times was the kingdom of the Almohades. Not long ago, after the death of the vizier Ba Hmad, regent of the young Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, Gontafi warred in the Sous plain and conquered part of the Anti-Atlas. Won over to France in 1912, he commanded the marches of Tiznit in the name of the Sultan for four years and held in check the last unsubjugated Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South.

Still more to the West we find, in the casbah of Bouaboud, ᶜAbd el Malek Tiggi, chief of the Mtougga. Like his rival of the Nefis and his Telwet competitor, he has command on the two versants of the great chain, but his possessions extend besides, toward the North, over several Arab tribes of the "Azaghar" of Marrakech (1).

1. Azaghar in Berbère /Berber/ has the meaning of plain, most often large plain. The small plains, particularly when they are cultivated, often take the name of Tagragra.

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*631 159 Moreover, his influence is exerted well beyond the boundaries of his fief. Thanks to his cleverness, to his deep knowledge of all the intrigues, he makes himself heard by all the independent minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the region of the high summits. His friendships suffice for him to make security prevail on the trails of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Atlas. Finally, by means of his alliances with the Arabs of the plain of the North, old Mtouggi maintains valuable relations with the other Ma^{c}qil tribes remaining in the Sous and the Sahara. Wary, prudent, even crafty, master in the art of intrigue, he is adept at double dealing, but resolute also when it is necessary, /123/ most often pitiless; his name is feared and respected in all the tribes of the western Atlas.

*631 648 On the rough coast of the Ocean, the old confederation of the Haha, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for centuries, closely controlled at present by our "bureaux" /offices/, it, too, formerly knew the organization of the great commands. At the time of our conquest, two powerful lords were fiercely contesting for power there: Mohammed Anflous was governing the tribes of the North, and ^{c}Abd er-Rahman Gellouli those of the South. Won over to France for a time, these two enemy chiefs became reconciled in order to betray us; defeated and put to flight by our troops, they had to make way for minor kaids without true strength, who at present hold all their authority from the investiture of the Sultan.

*631 159 These two great kaids of the Haha, who disappeared at the time of our arrival in the Moroccan South, had themselves shared the political legacy of the great chief that El Hajj ^{c}Abdallah ou Bihi was. The lowliest shepherd still knows his name and successes, and the poets have not ceased to sing his glory. Originating from the Ait Zelten, ^{c}Abdallah ou Bihi had, as we said, led all his tribes in the name of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to the conquest of the Anti-Atlas (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 142.

/123 cont./

*631 Under his authority, the whole confederation then knew twenty
159 years of prosperity, and one then saw in the casbahs of the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten and of Amhach all the kaids and sheiks of the mountains and plains of the Sous coming to bring presents to the great victorious kaid. Ruined by the intrigues of the chiefs neighboring Bouaboud, El Hajj ʿAbdallah ou Bihi disappeared at one stroke, poisoned by order of the sultan Sidi Mohammed in 1868, after having long known a fortune similar to the one that the kaids of the Glawa have in our day.

Finally, in Taroudant, former capital of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous, ten times ruined and ten times reconstructed, there resides a powerful Arab pasha, master of the tribes established around the town by the Sultans. Haida ou Mwis, who died in 1917 in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in a battle to the south of Tiznit, had long contained the rebel tribes of the Anti-Atlas, destroyed their fortresses nearest to the plain, and dispersed their turbulent councils of notables. The minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the mountains rendered him homage up to the /124/ desert. His son, heir to an extensive fief, firmly established over the tribes of the Sous valley, willingly accepts the title of caliphate /Fr. khalifat/ of the Sultan and tries to direct, as his father did, with less success, it is true, the politics of the Far South.

*631 Many other kaids named by the Sultan still live in the tribes of the Azaghar of Marrakech or of the Sous, but their personal influence is weak; they cling by instinct or by necessity to one or another of the masters of the mountains, who have been called the "lords of the Atlas." Everywhere, as a matter of fact, the three great kaids cross their intrigues; they try, by imposing an alliance upon the minor chiefs, to extend their power toward the South and to increase unceasingly the number of their tributary subjects.

In the Anti-Atlas, only the unsubjugated Igezzoulen, grouped in the region of the old kingdom of the Tazerwalt, where the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa formerly reigned, still concentrate their
[159] last efforts at resistance in their infertile mountains. Near the desert a ghost pretender, Merebbi Rebbo, lives at Kerdous; he is

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*631 the brother of El Hiba, sultan of the holy war in the South, and
159 the son of Ma el ᶜAïnin, sorcerer and theologian who left the
desert of Mauritania twenty years ago to help the Sultan drive
the Christians from the Empire. By his presence, this false sherif
gives the revolt in which the tribes of the western Anti-Atlas persist
the excuse of legality. Thus his existence confirms, even for
the dissident region, our first impression of a Southern Morocco
organized in a uniform manner into great commands according
to rules of geographical division that are both simple and clear.

II. The internal organization of the great commands. --
*631 Let us proceed further with the appearances, alone observable for
the moment, in order to understand, thanks to our guides, the
external aspects of this political organization of the great kaids,
which seems so different from that of the other Berbère /Berber/
countries of North Africa.

Although the great chiefs of the Atlas are subject to the Sultan
and sometimes invoke his name to justify their conquests, we
see, by the firm domination that they exercise over the mountain
tribes, that their personal authority is much stronger than that of
the ephemeral kaids of the plains of the North. We might have
been tempted at first to think that these chiefs must be /125/
limited in the exercise of their command by the local institutions,
whose democratic tendencies are so marked in other regions, such
as the Rif, the Kabylie /Kabylia/, and the Aurès; but, on the
contrary, the masters of the tribes seem to us to form here a
veritable aristocratic and feudal class, established above the populations
[628] that they govern. When these mountain kaids assemble
their warriors, as during the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, in
[721] order to settle their quarrels among themselves, they disturb the
whole country, without anyone's being able to intervene in order
to stop their dissensions; if the Empire weakens, one sees them
descending to the plains to fight over the rich regions of the
Azaghar of Marrakech, to compete in order to get the government
of the capital of the South and to protect the ruler. Even
[152] when the lords of the Atlas return to their high valleys, they are
still to be feared, and nobody knows exactly the limit of their

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*631 forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy
[152] that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the
great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of
*631 the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their
domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain
712 hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work
[632] in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and
lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Teſwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little
[343] towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the cas-
bahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the
[251] best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects
[651] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground
[697] vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aīt Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aīt ᶜAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

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*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses, ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. *631 342 In the tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. [735] Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 *634 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." [721] These small villages, more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

*631 /127 cont./

*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves to be very violent" (1).

[721]

[113] 1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Aït Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. *631 There still exist among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

121 *631 *634 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

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121 *631 *634 moment we understand that we shall be able to observe there habits and customs preserved at the price of millenary struggles and incessant effort; at the same time we should like to know what true relations the high valleys remaining free maintain with the mountain regions subject to the great chiefs; finally, we should like to know whether, in a past still rather near, numerous tribes bent under the yoke today did not know a life similar to the one that, thanks to a prodigious effort for isolation, has been perpetuated up to our day in the inaccessible parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

Let us suppose that favorable circumstances or some clever ruse permit us to escape for a moment from our usual companions, too assiduous in following us and directing our research; let us transport ourselves without them for a few instants to a high summit such as the Igdad, at the sources of the Nefis, from where one embraces an immense horizon of mountains and plains. It will be enough for us to question the Berbères /Berbers/ who surround us, coming from the villages in the high valleys of the vicinity, in order to discover other aspects of life that have remained hidden until now and that form a striking contrast with the ones that we have just perceived. At the same time, we shall try, thanks to the memories of the oldest of our new guides, to prolong in time this rapid inquiry and tie the present to a past that we conjecture to be so rich in important events. Perhaps we shall then be able, by comparing our personal observations with the picture of the domination of the great chiefs already sketched, to find again the diversity of Berbère /Berber/ institutions and to distinguish better the stages of a recent transformation that is still taking place before our eyes.

133 From the high summit to which we have just come, the whole great chain, from the sea that one conjectures in the distance to the mountains of the Glawa, appears to us easily, cut from the North to the South by the three great routes of the Tizi Maᶜcho, of the Nefis, and of Telwet. Toward the North the mountains are tiered in becoming lower by successive degrees to reach the Azaghar of Marrakech indefinitely stretched out on the horizon.

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133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 *631 619 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 619 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted [361] [131] by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access, in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

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*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
[361] around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their in-
[131] dependence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of
[178] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
[648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/130 cont./
*631 attachment proved by incessant revolts. Then, in the course of
619 their "siba," one would see the councils of notables reappear,
known by the name of "ineflas" /sic/ or "Aït Arbaᶜin," who resuscitated the old Berbère /Berber/ organization and, when
necessary, united some of the Ida Ou Tanan with their free neighbors. Moreover, sometimes during the great periods of anarchy,
[178] such as were produced upon the death of the Sultans and the appearance of pretenders in the various provinces of the Empire,
control by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was so /131/ incomplete that
in the course of the "siba" one would see the ancient traditions
flower again at a single stroke over immense areas. In vain the
presence of Arab groups dispersed among the Haha and in the Sous
plain disturbed the Berbère /Berber/ peopling; in spite of the government extended from the plains by sheiks subject to the kaids
for centuries, in the South the rebel movement won over the
Ksima and Mesgina and extended by degrees across the Chtouka
plain up to the boundary of the Anti-Atlas, which the sherifian
policy had never actually approached. During this period of
liberty, each tribe re-established its political council and restored, imitating it in its own way, the organization of the fractions of the Ida Ou Tanan; thus, until the arrival of the Sultan's
harka, throughout this coastal region, the independent Berbérie
/Barbary/ of the plain of the South was restored.

The tribes of the Tichka have still more originality than the Ida Ou Tanan. Never in the course of history, as we have seen, did the former Makhzen /makhzan/ really penetrate into this difficult region. From the minor kings of the Seksawa, who indeed seem to have personified the resistance to the Almohade and Mérinide dominations in the thirteenth century, up to the sheiks and preachers who, under the Saadians, revived on the contrary the memory of the Mahdi of Tinmellel in order to fight better against the power of the Sultans, an effort of obstinate resistance has kept the populations of the high valleys in isolation.

The spectacle that would await us, if we could leave our high observation-post for an instant to visit the territory of one of these tribes farthest away from the plains held by the Makhzen

/131 cont./
*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first
guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council
administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool,
the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long
hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and,
seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a
timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying
out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem"
[671] /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they
punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on
thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection
of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch
jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families,
whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation
ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate
and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
184 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
512 brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure
together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with
the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the
[653] fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/132 cont./

221 233 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 *631 177 578 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be introduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose frequency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

/133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the power of the great chiefs. -- *631 175 178 These simple and anarchic customs, which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/133 cont./

175 Moreover, at that time domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/
*631 was exercised in a form very different from that which we
observe at present. At the foot of the great chain, on the Dir of
the North versant, in all the large villages that form natural
centers of exchange between mountain and plain, were settled
minor kaids entirely subject to the Sultan. Horsemen coming
from Marrakech used to bring on every occasion the orders of the
"Pasha of the casbah" to the minor chiefs of Agergour of the
Ouzgita, of Amismiz and Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, of the "Agadir"
of the Mzouda, and of Bouaboud of the Mtougga. In the tribes
175 located higher in the mountains, each canton had its sheik chosen
*631 from one of the old families of the villages and who represented
*634 the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Narrowly limited in his
privileges, this sheik or "amghar" was often reduced to coming to
terms with the council of old men and notables in order to make
it accept the demands transmitted in the name of the Sultan. But
[651] the demands of the kaid were so light -- an annual tribute in
silver and the "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ of a mule on the major
feast days -- that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely felt the weight
of the foreign authority.

On the south versant of the Atlas, north of Taroudant, the penetration was still less advanced, the kaids were replaced by simple sheiks, who maintained /134/ friendly relations with the small republics of the Dir and the summits.

Actually, in all the South of Morocco, the sultan's absolute authority stopped at the plains. By imperceptible transitions, while penetrating into the Atlas, one found the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weaker and weaker and the oligarchic institutions more and more developed. On the Dir or in the large valleys the sheiks governed, assisted by a council of notables. Farther on, it was the representatives of all the families, the "Aït Arbaʿin," who deliberated under the command of an "amghar" (1).

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1. "Amghar" (pl. imgharen) Berb.: temporal leader who commands a tribe or a tribal fraction. In this region the "amghar" owes his power to

/134 cont./

175 /footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas
*631 the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected
*634 or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for
a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In
[178] the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all
the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits,
[671] an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines
[652] imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of
[712] "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the
peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.
[343]

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of
*631 contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues.
Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the influence
of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
*631 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the
*634 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the
cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part
of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them
by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three
generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère
/Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in
spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence,
by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the
great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
[669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains
have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept
the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government
of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar."
Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in
the fractions of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the
Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the
Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
*634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the traditions
remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the
[178] "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arbaᶜin" and the "moqaddems"
holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the
progressive development of personal power prepares and announces
the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
[648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our
intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs
in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course
of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been
able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid
and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
[578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their
secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired
recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political
evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by sub-
mission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there
all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the
autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and
[174] help us to find again what the social organization of this whole
region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aīt Maghlif, Aīt ᶜAbdallah, Aīt Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aīt Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
[712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around
large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which
enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But be-
fore the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aīt

/136 cont./
*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and
around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs
in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Aīt arba^{c}in" or
"inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character
was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and,
moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were
more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the
175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At
*631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely
*634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Aīt Waouzgit was
actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless
for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of
the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran
or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his
contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el
Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain
sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat,
Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among
[651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail,"
he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had
assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per
household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the
territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices
[127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult
the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès,
the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and
who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the
[114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the
one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of
the great chiefs.

/137 cont./

114 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" ap-
*634 peared to him then to be predominant, but without going so far
*631 as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs'
authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, dis-
642 tricts, villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic re-
619 gime, others under a democratic regime. The first are governed
by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is
hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita.
The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects;
more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is nec-
essary for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Be-
sides, it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those
under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three
things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war,
not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is
permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license"
... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As
for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have
[184] adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some,
such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the
North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the
assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of
Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands
and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; some-
times it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain
tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen,
are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in
which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of
these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaf-
fen; sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative
is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

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1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/138 cont./

114 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the west-
*63 ern Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous
*634 region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of
Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our
day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us,
*631 in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/
*634 institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject
regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas
that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the
[619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the
Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions
[178] with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases
[621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the
common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with
in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above
the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian
republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted
everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant
175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the
*631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi
792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means
of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as
Massat, M^{c}ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
[578] from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
*631 method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/140 cont./

121 128 *631 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631 177 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Mo-
roccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century,
that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent.
[726] The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the
Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated
still more the importance of the changes that had taken place.
At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened;
soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the
existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep
unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was
*631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo-
648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested
auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally per-
mitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and
to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, every-
thing that might recall the too-recent origins of their power dis-
appear from our sight.

/141 cont./

*631 648 Nevertheless, between these two opposed political regimes, -- the government of the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies and the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- intermediate forms were often born in the least accessible parts of the country in the mountains, the very ones that could, thanks to their distance, escape the too-brutal consequences of the furious struggle between two naturally hostile forces. One then saw emerge the minor chiefs who tried to assemble all the forces of the country remaining free, in order to pit them one last time against the feared domination of the Makhzen. Nearly always, it is true, these champions of independence betrayed the cause that they claimed to serve. Having become masters of tribes, they were able, at the favorable moment, to hurry along an evolution henceforth inevitable and made themselves agents of the central power.

*631 We can indicate the successive stages of the political evolution from then on.

[642] In all the regions screened by distance or difficulty of communications from the direct action of the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the democratic or oligarchic republican organization is here, as in all North Africa, the form of government spontaneously chosen by the Berbère /Berber/ communites; still the power of tradition is not so great that one does not see appear sometimes, by means of struggles of families, a still precarious and ephemeral personal power.

*634 When circumstances are favorable, the "amghar" who has succeeded in elevating himself above the notables of his small canton manages to consolidate what de Foucauld happily called "a despotic power." Most often it is by means of war that the chief thus rising increases his power, just as it is by the assassination of his rivals that he founded it. He soon succeeds in constituting in the middle of republican tribes a veritable little state that he governs as he pleases. Two roads then present themselves [648] to the victorious amghar; he can remain /142/ the champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence and extend further, by an adroit protectorate, his influence over the neighboring republics;

/142 cont./

*634 648 sometimes, on the other hand, circumstances counsel him, through prudence or ambition, to put his force at the service of the Sultan and to make himself the agent of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

In this last case, having become a kaid in his turn, the Berbère /Berber/ chief meets with the other chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/, who have set out from the foot of the mountains or important cols for the conquest of independent or autonomous tribes. Allies or enemies, there they are, henceforth involved in the same intrigues, whatever their origin might be; they argue in the Azaghar over possession of the rich tribes and vie at the "Dar el Makhzen" in order to obtain the favor of the Sultan and his court. Later they will grow still more important and try to direct sherifian policy for their profit.

*634 177 But at the same time, mixing with the Arab kaids of the plains, the Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains, sons of the independent amghars of the high valleys, will hasten to forget the recent usages of their tribes that they had kept and will apply themselves in every detail to living and thinking as is done in the cities by the high personages whose friendship they seek or whose position they covet. Thus they will enter still more completely into the tradition of the Empire. As a natural consequence of this spirit of imitation, the exercise of their power tends to become similar to that of the chiefs of regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for several centuries; the more so as the final ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions has already made the mountain tribes of the Masmouda, formerly so attached to their customs, almost identical in appearance to those of the Gharb /Rharb/ or of the Atlantic plains: disorganized mass of ruined cultivators, bent over their lands, who know their masters only in order to pay the tax to them, and whose sole hope is that of the next rebellion upon the death of the Sultan.

*[631] Doubtless the evolution whose broad features we are indicating here does not proceed everywhere according to the same regular progression; rapid conquests or, on the contrary, obstinate

/142 cont./

*634 resistance modify here or there the country's pace of transformation.
*631 The geographical situation, bravery in war, or the intelligence
177 of the inhabitants can also change, according to regions,
the fate of the tribes. Actually, this small Berbère /Berber/
world does not appear to us in the same aspects in all places. On
the contrary, there is no region /143/ that would be more varied,
*634 less homogeneous. Thus, in a group of high valleys where the
*631 oligarchic regime is preponderant, the assemblies are not all
made up in an identical way, the representation of the families
177 is not the same everywhere. Sometimes "the word," the command,
642 is reserved for a few privileged villages; elsewhere we
discern the appearance of a little senate, which little by little
ousts the heads of the other families and slowly prepares the establishment
of personal power. Likewise, when the little states
of the summits, formerly independent, live under the protection
of an amghar who has established his dominion over several nearby
cantons, the chief's authority squares in a variable manner
with that of the notables of the country, whom we sometimes see
reduced to powerlessness, or, on the contrary, kept along with
their "moqaddem," as if they were still valuable auxiliaries for
the new master. These frequent differences between the small
local constitutions have great importance: it is through them that
is best manifested the originality, one might say the personality,
of all the small social organisms, whose number, limits, and
importance we shall soon indicate. They remind us, moreover,
of the living flexibility and the diversity of an evolution that we
would be tempted to explain by too-simple laws.

*631 It remains no less certain that the great political-regime
178 transformations reach at the same time entire regions that evolve
toward personal power, unite in resistance, or, on the contrary,
177 succumb in large masses to the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
642 It is the existence of these general movements that justifies,
in spite of local differences, the simplification that we shall try to
establish by explaining all the evolution of the Moroccan South by
the transition of the republican regime to that of the despotic

*631 642 [177] [178] [121] [124] /143 cont./

amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.

In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then [121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Sraïr, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 *631 *634 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass, that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/144 cont./
121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas; in the
land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
121 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
*631 the Sultan. The undertakings of ʿAbdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
648 dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the
Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transfor-
mation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all
the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of
submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime
of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs,
dominated by kaids, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered
up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power
is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains
threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until
/145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the inces-
sant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the in-
*631 ternal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution
of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely suc-
ceed in following it during the course of the events that have dis-
turbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
[642] time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
[578] bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera
of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with
the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaids.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the
first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other
chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this
same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if
we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/145 cont./

*631 shape and disappeared, one may believe that the play of social
121 forces, remaining so similar in themselves in the course of cen-
[178] turies, was exercised formerly in the same form as today.

One might go further and seek out in other provinces of the
Sherifian Empire, now subject to the Sultan's authority, the
traces of an evolution similar to the one that the South of Moroc-
*631 co underwent several times. In a still more general way, the
121 Mussulman history of North Africa as a whole gives us the spec-
171 tacle of attempts, ephemeral for the most part, undertaken by
ambitious men to found a personal power analogous to that of the
Berbère /Berber/ amghars and kaids of the Sous. By force of
arms, or thanks to the support of religion, they build small states,
assemble around themselves a group of tribes, and found dynasties
that try for two or three generations to retain in a centralized or-
ganization the peoples that they have subjected to their authority.

But the conditions under which these principalities are constituted in a land remaining on the whole faithful to republican institutions most often remain obscure. Perhaps /146/ we shall succeed, in the light of this study made on a still-living past, in illuminating some of the hidden rules that explain their rise, their life, and their disappearance.

*631 The example of the South of Morocco will show us how the
121 fragile cadres of the little Berbère /Berber/ states can be broken
178 up in order to constitute a larger political organism to which one
can almost already give the name of kingdom; we shall also see
642 in what way these cantons, formerly autonomous, soon recover,
*634 thanks to revolts, their early liberty and return to, along with
their egalitarian dreams, their primitive institutions. Thus the
cycle of evolution of the Sous tribes, which has its origin in
organized anarchy in order to arrive at the ruinous despotism of
the Makhzen /makhzan/ and does not delay in coming back to
its point of departure, thanks to the confusion of the sibas, will
for us be no more than the most humble aspect, the elementary
form of another rhythm: that of the rise, development, and ruin of
Mussulman empires, whose regular seesawing suffices to fill all the
history of the Maghreb with a tireless monotony.

2: Montagne

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P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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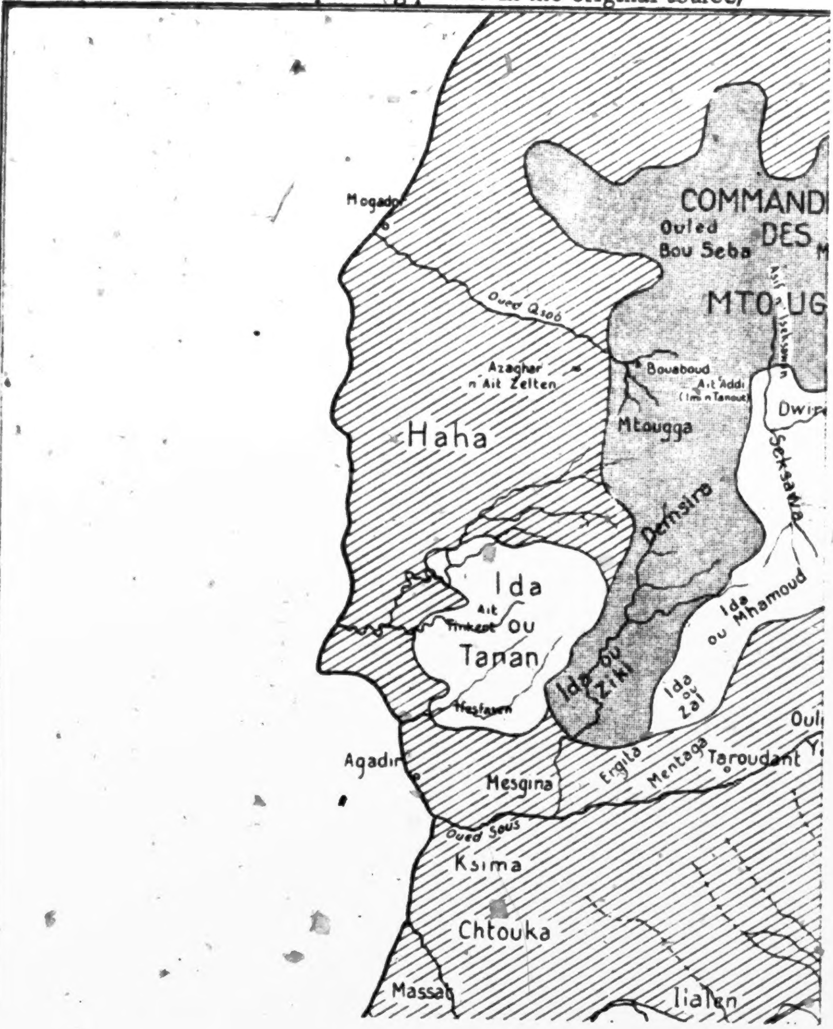
COMMANDI
DES
MTO UG
Oulad
Bou Seba
Asif Isseksawen
Mogador
Oued Qsob
Azagher
n Ait Zelten
Bouaboud
Ait Addi
(Imi n Tanout)
Mtougga
Dwir
Haha
Seksawa
Demsira
Ida
ou
Tanan
Ait
Tinkert
Ifesfaren
Ida ou Ziki
Ida ou Mhamoud
Ida ou Zal
Agadir
Mesgina
Ergita
Mentaga
Taroudant
Oul
Y
Oued Sous
Ksima
Chtouka
Massat
Iialen

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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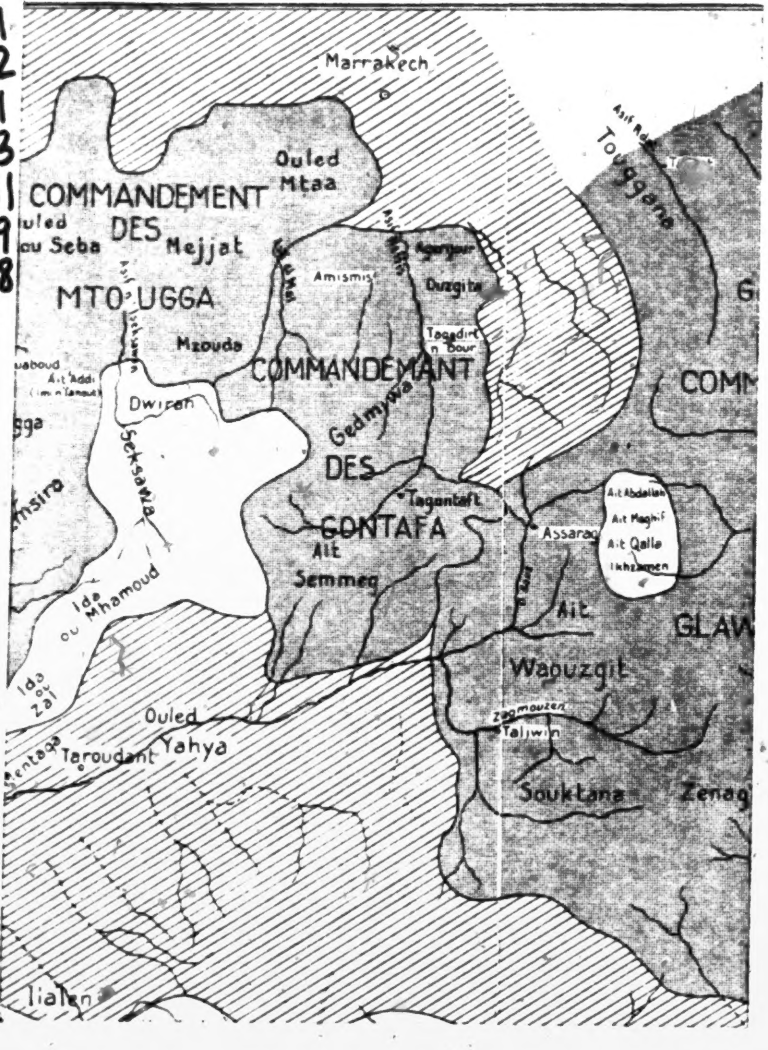
Marrakech
Ouled Mtaa
COMMANDEMENT DES MTOUGGA
Ouled ou Seba
Mejjat
Asif Seksawa
Mzouda
Ait Addi
Dwiran
Seksawa
Ida ou Mhamoud
Ida ou Zal
Ouled Yahya
Taroudant
Amismiz
Agergour
Ouzgita
Tagadirt n Bour
COMMANDEMANT DES GONTAFA
Gedmywa
Tagontaft
Ait Semmeg
Asif Reraya
Touggana
COMM
Assarag
Ait Abdallah
Ait Maghif
Ait Qalla
Ikhzamen
Ait Wauzgit
GLAW
Zagmouzen
Taliwin
Souktana
Zenag
Tiaten

2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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131
133
*631
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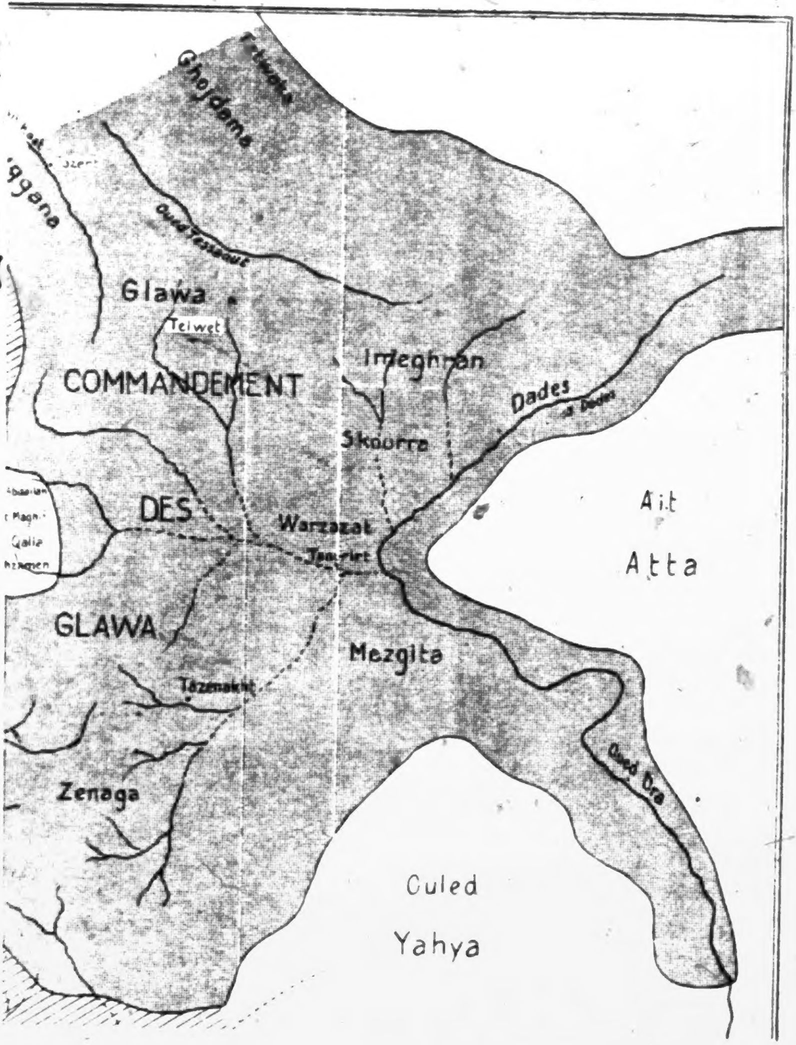
Fetwaka
Ghojdama
ggana
ozent
Oued Tessaout
Glawa
Telwet
COMMANDEMENT
DES
GLAWA
Imeghran
Dades
O. Dades
Skoorra
Warzazat
Tawrirt
Ait
Atta
Mezgita
Tazenakht
Zenaga
Oued Dra
Culed
Yahya
Galia
Maghi
Abadian
hzamen

2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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*631
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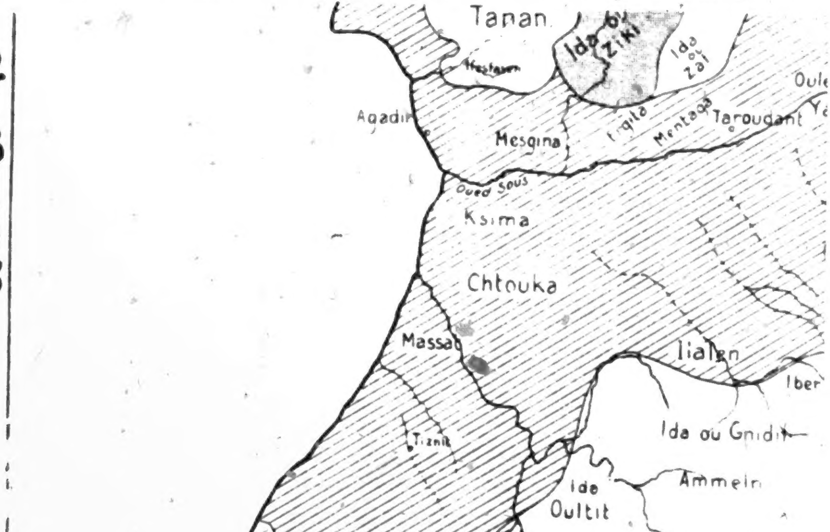
Tanan
Ida ou Ziki
Ida ou Zal
Ifestaoun
Agadir
Mesgina
Ergita
Mentaga
Taroudant
Oule
Ye
Oued Sous
Ksima
Chtouka
Massat
Ilalen
Iber
Tiznit
Ida ou Gnidif
Ammeln
Ide Oultit
Tazerwalt
Oued Noun

2: Montagne--187 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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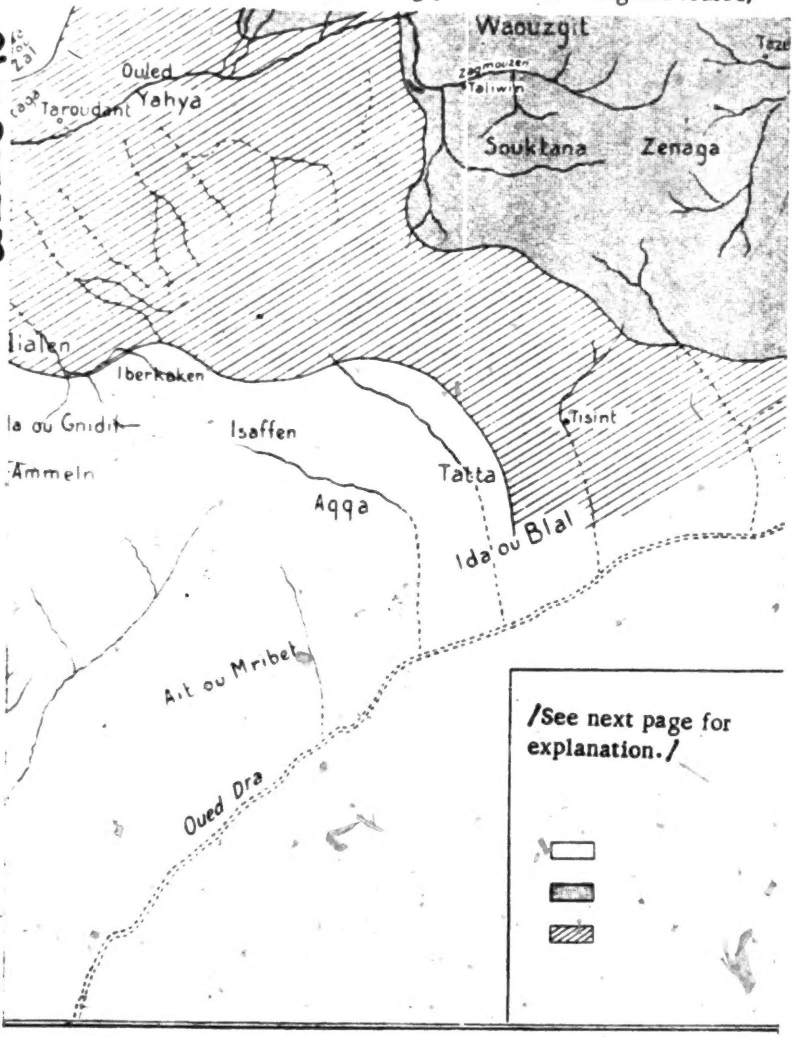
/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/


Waouzgit
Taze
Zagmouzen
Taliwin
Ouled
Yahya
Taroudant
Souktana
Zenaga
lialen
Iberkaken
la ou Gnidif
Isaffen
Ammeln
Tatta
Tisint
Aqqa
Ida ou Blal
Ait ou Mribet
Oued Dra

/See next page for explanation./

2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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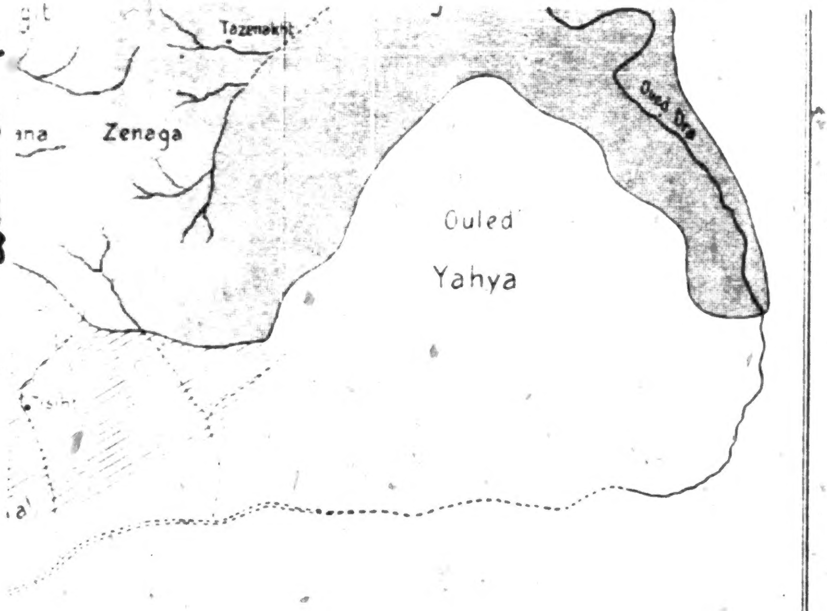

The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

☐ Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

▒ Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids:
Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

▨ Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen
(Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

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Chapter II

The Small Berbère /Berber/ States: Canton, Tribe, Confederation

000 I. The social units. -- II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt." -- VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- IX. The historic confederations. -- X. The factitious confederations. -- XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- XIII. Importance of the "khoms." -- XIV. Tribes and cantons among the Senhaja of Srair. -- XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ʿarch." -- XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ States.

121 I. The social units. -- In order to distinguish the true nature of the political institutions of the Moroccan South, we had to seek, beyond appearances, the permanent reality constituted by the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the mountains. Behind the feudal façade recently put up by the masters of the Atlas, we perceived the resistance that the tribes, stubbornly attached to their democratic or oligarchic institutions, have for several generations set against the amghars and kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Before studying the play of the forces that led to the transformation of the country, it is necessary to examine the external aspect of the small social units of the Sous, to trace out their contours, and to determine the nature of the alliances that unite them in larger groups. Neglecting for the moment to consider the administrative divisions of our time, we shall put off until later the study of the great commands, of their organization and boundaries, and we shall try first of all to study the nature of the [124] parts that constitute them. This time again the inhabitants of the upper valleys remaining free, or else, in the regions

/147 cont./
121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than
the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way
to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears
*631 in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
/makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest
is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times,
small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
of "taqbilt" (1), and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple
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1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^c," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social
128 organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded
as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
613 whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/
society, whose value we have already questioned and which we
shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

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2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜ Azzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

/150 cont./

121 128 local institutions before they were broken up by the advance of the personal power of the chiefs and of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It will then be easy for us to extend our observations to the rest of the Sous region of our day, transformed by submission, as well as to the still-free mountains of the Anti-Atlas.

Finally, a rapid comparison with the country of the Jbala of the north of Morocco, the Rif, and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit perceiving the unity of social structure of the largest part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

Doubtless it will sometimes happen in the course of this study of the social morphology that we shall simplify some aspects of the life of these little superposed organisms, in order to mark better the nature of the characteristics that permit them to be distinguished. Therefore one must be aware that the value of our classifications is only approximate and that we must often limit ourselves to defining "average types," while neglecting the individual forms that sometimes diverge from them somewhat because they have the variety inherent in all that lives, is born, grows, and disappears. Besides, people will not be surprised that our observations do not always enable us to explain the facts by clear and logical notions, which are unknown by the primitives. The bonds that connect a Berbère /Berber/ to his fraction, to his tribe, to his confederation call on representations that sometimes seem to us obscure or even contradictory; consequently the small states defined by these bonds will sometimes appear to us in indistinct aspects, very different from the ones whose nature we should like to describe by means of precise and positive characteristics.

621 /151/ II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- The social units easiest to define are the smallest, and it is particularly easy to observe the life of the hamlet, village, and subfraction whose activity is limited to the circumstances of daily life.

[361] In all the mountains of the Masmouda, most of the inhabitants of the valleys live grouped in small hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths, constructed on the sunlit slopes or on a detached peak or a high rock, in a spot propitious for defense.

/151 cont./

621 613 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert" (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "^{c}adam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a [103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: I^{c}aisaten, the sons of ^{c}Aisa; Taourirt n Aït lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 632 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "mouda^{c}" (3)

114 613 621 632 113

3. From the Arabic "mouda^{c}," place. Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this group ("Organisation sociale et domestique

/151 cont./

114 /footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social
613 and domestic organization of the Haha/, "
621 Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,
632 Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/,
[113] p. 9. Actually made up of several family
groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the
"mouda^c" has less importance and cohesion
in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

621 and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfrac-
632 tion. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask
[346] for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the
[343] regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and es-
[623] pecially the existence of a "jema^ca," assembly of all the men
able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^c."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^c" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^c" pos-
621 sesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands,
632 its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for
423 heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a
chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a
question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-
[609] goods. A stranger to the "mouda^c" would not be able to settle
there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

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*634 [184] III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^c," most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/ in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of "taqbilt."

The jem^{c}a of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^c" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats, that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external activity. *634 166 609 Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of another energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

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*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain 166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers" 609 of a neighboring fraction.

A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or 632 four "moudaᶜ" that gather together in all the population of about *634 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous *634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders 131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defending it or increasing it that create among the families of the same 619 canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the *634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant 166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the Aït Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

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*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113] 1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general
184 throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou
[619] Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou
Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full
freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa
remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The
[131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole
valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all
*634 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road,
184 local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollec-
174 tion of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ ap-
proximately (1)
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1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

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/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

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More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

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The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jema^{c}a." In truth, in the north

*631 619 184 [113]

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of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2), the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ᶜAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ᶜAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

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One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between 1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

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In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

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*634 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages de-
184 fended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik
subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor
amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assem-
bly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can-
[619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the
Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its
little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which
deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about
everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the
penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and
the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of
[619] the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as
those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of
the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït
Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different consti-
tutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five,
twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs"
similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa
have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of di-
[133] vision in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by
canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant
of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem
to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou
Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on
the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or
184 canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this
way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to
131 which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their terri-
tory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially
when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^c," in the
most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little
state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediate-
ly adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

*634 /157 cont./

184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

131 It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not [174] long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of [613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether *634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little 721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the [131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/ 131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the 728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

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*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of
the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears
spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the
struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us
numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group suc-
131 ceeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
728 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
619 as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran,
[173] Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn
out by war; the other two would have founded successively the
Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ^{c}Abdallah, then the Intedan, Awines,
Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the
Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.
*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
184 or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths.
Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

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*634 Cha^{c}ib, the Aït Breher of the Demsira. There are some that
619 /159/ are still smaller, like the Aït Dris of the tribe of the Ida
184 Ou Mhamoud, Wanzid of the Seksawa. Finally, the Aït Mehand of the Seksawa, Tagadirt n Baoun of the Demsira, by their dimensions are no more than "mouda^{c}," but their institutions already give them most of the characteristics of true "taqbilt" (1).

*634 Thanks to the limited extent of its territory and the concern that its inhabitants manifest in defending the frontiers, the canton
*631 is a small state with great vitality. On the other hand, we shall
619 observe that the larger organisms -- the tribe and the confederation -- in the same region are much more difficult to define and

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1. By exception, in certain tribes of the Dir one finds territorial divisions smaller than the taqbilt as we have described it here. This is the case for the Aït Semmeg, divided into about 15 minuscule units whose territory scarcely exceeds that of a "mouda^{c}." Likewise the Mzouda are divided into ten "mia," each of which has only about 100 hearths. On the other hand, in certain regions peopled recently, such as the south of the Haha (tribes of the Aït ^{c}Aissi and of the Ida ou Bouzia), it happens that the tribe may be divided into several "khoms" whose villages are so entangled that it is no longer possible to trace their boundaries. Finally, an "afous" of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Id Mansour, has a territory divided into three parts separated from one another. These exceptions affect only an infinitesimal part of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and we can with good reason ignore them in an over-all description of the social structure.

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*631 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape
619 all investigation.

619 VI. The tribe; difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe
*[634] is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some
[184] common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

619 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circum-
*634 stances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given
174 /160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

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be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

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On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth. [616] Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

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1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

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/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (113) (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." *Notes et Impression*. -- *La géographie*, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the Aït Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (*ibid.*).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

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174 But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

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619 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).

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2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 616 619 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- Another element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

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*634 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly bal-
616 anced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two
619 by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or
the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^{c}" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in
the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs
184 may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great
*634 distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up
of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Aït Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

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619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four
"khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and
*634 Afella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Saʿīd Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aït Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aït Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aït Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

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619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which
the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to
natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

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*631 typical example; made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an im-
*634 pression of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions
and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence,
175 attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority
have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are
not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The di-
619 verse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as
of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

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/166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
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But something still survives from the temporary unity that they knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity. This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

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*631 /footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Mou-
*634 men (Documents inédits /Unpublished docu-
619 ments/, pp. 62, 194).
175 We again find at present a group of Aïrt
131 /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik,
[728] former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631 But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens
619 that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements
175 then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634] Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*631 619 175 [778] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

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*631 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of
174 their ethnic unity (1).
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1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 Such are the Aït ʿAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the
[726] Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and
seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the
north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These
[178] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the
[666] "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to
*[634] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of
sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions op-
[616] posed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play
of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could
174 thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

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conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon
[174] come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

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3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
175 which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through
[648] the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger
the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas,
[792] a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd
[642] en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the
Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them
to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains
*631 and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal
619 rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up
the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun,
the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different
political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think
fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the
[796] patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives
[692] in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and
by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

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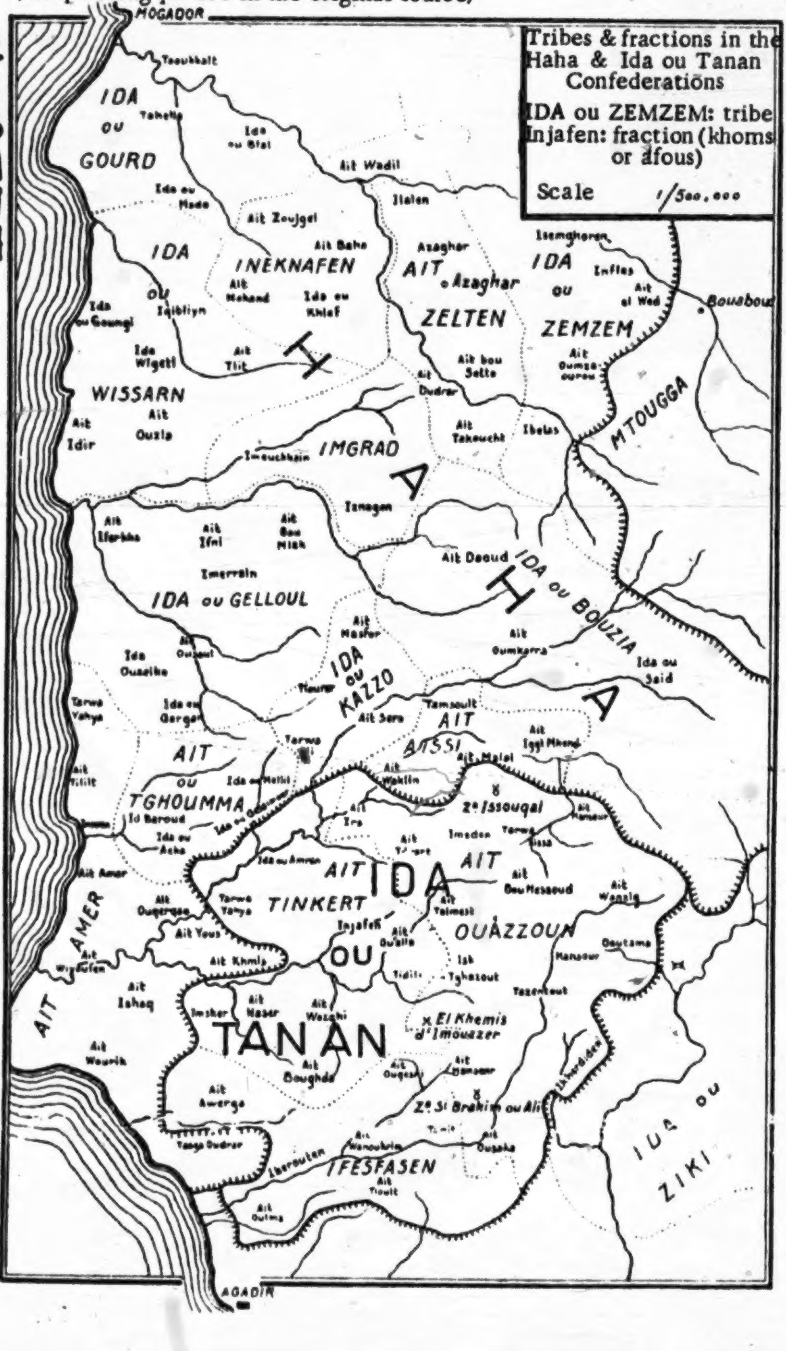
/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/


Tribes & fractions in the Haha & Ida ou Tanan Confederations
IDA ou ZEMZEM: tribe
Injafen: fraction (khoms or afous)
Scale 1/500,000
MOGADOR
AGADIR
HAHA
IDA ou TANAN
IDA ou GOURD
IDA ou ISSARN
NEKNAFEN
AIT ZELTEN
IDA ou ZEMZEM
MTOUGGA
WISSARN
IMGRAD
IDA ou BOUZIA
IDA ou GELLOUL
IDA ou KAZZO
AIT AISSI
AIT ou TGHOUMMA
AIT TINKERT
AIT OUAZZOUN
AIT AMER
IFESFASEN
IDA ou ZIKI
Bouabout
Azaghar
Ait Wadil
Ait Zoujgel
Ait Daoud
Z^a Issouqal
El Khemis d'Imouzzer
Z^a Si Brahim ou Ali
Ait Idir
Ait Ouzla
Ida ou Said
Ait Ishaq
Ait Wourik
Ait Boughda
Ait Awerga
Ait Ouims
Tasga Oudrar
Isaraouten
Ait Tioult
Ait Wanoukrim
Ait Khmis
Ait Yous

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*631 ᶜAli all the disputes that might have arisen among the limitrophe
619 fractions. When an external danger, especially the conquest of
[796] the Makhzen /makhzan/, comes to threaten the country, the
[692] general "ajmoᶜa," the meeting of all the tribes under arms, is
decided at the Souk el Khemis of Imouzzer, at the common
frontier of the three tribes. Here, in spite of the divergence of
local interests, despite the centrifugal tendency of the three
tribes who find themselves in contact with different populations,
the will to preserve independence vis-à-vis the foreigner has been
strongest; it has sufficed in order to constitute an irreducible bloc
*631 made up of the most diverse ethnic elements. Here one perceives
*634 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ ideal of independence, alone
capable of agglomerating the social dust of the small elementary
619 states; the permanent threat of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has sufficed to make the parceling of the country disappear, as if it
were necessary, in order to create in the amorphous mass of the
"taqbilt" some solid cores of resistance, to strike it with repeated
blows (1).

1. One can compare the example of the Ida Ou Tanan with that of the independent tribes, neighbors of the summits of the Tichka, under the pressure of the kaids of Bouaboud and of Tagontaft. In the course of recent years the minor chief of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, has been dreaming, it is said, of uniting the scattered debris of the ancient, vanished confederation of the Genfisa, in order to reconstitute, for his profit, a republic of the Tichka. By this last means, the "amghar" would have attempted, thanks to a policy of union, to save the Berbère /Berber/ traditions from the inevitable ruin that threatens them. Our intervention came to overthrow these projects and changed the balance of the forces in the high mountains. But if the efforts of this minor chief had succeeded,

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/footnote 1 continued/ one would have seen a new confederation rise, which could have taken the name of Aït Haddiyous and whose aspect would doubtless not have differed much from the group of the Ida Ou Tanan.

XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- /170/ It is easy for us to see at present the relative importance of the various social groups whose presence we observe in the Sous.

The confederations appear to us as true states only by exception or in short periods of their existence; they most often have no activity other than that of the weaker units that compose them. The tribes, too, for the most part, are only inert masses of separate cantons. It seems that the most important groups are customarily only geographic and historic cadres, within which the life of the smaller units that form them is organized to their liking, according to the particular convenience of each of them.

In a word, it is a small state of a few square kilometers that, in the eyes of the montagnard, is the true fatherland. Tribe, confederation have limits too vast for the play of his passions and ambitions. The profitable organization of a great command, the attraction of distant expeditions into the rich conquered plains of the North or the irrigated valleys of the South, the strength of the spirit of holy war or the love of independence, sometimes threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/, are necessary for the mind of the Berbère /Berber/ to rise for a moment to the idea of associations more extensive than those of the 20 families of his native country. He still keeps in his heart, in these grand circumstances, one feeling stronger than all the others: the love of [829] his "taqbilt" of origin, defined by its territory, its institutions, its alliances, and its internal hatreds. If there should occur a weakening of the bond that has united the mountain cantons for a time, the bloc breaks up anew, and each one again finds, without surprise as well as without regret, the narrow and familiar cadre of his valley.

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*634 XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- Thus the cell of the Berbère /Berber/ society of the Sous is, at least in our day, an elementary state larger than the village, smaller than the tribe, and we shall later see the importance of this minuscule unit confirmed in the course of our investigation of the circumstances in which the chiefs rise and grow.

*634 *631 171 But it is not only in this province of the Sous, where it has been possible for us to multiply our investigations, that one observes the role played in local life by these small cantons that absorb /171/ the greatest part of the political activity of the country. It is the same in the various parts of the north of Africa peopled with sedentary Berbères /Berbers/. Without trying here to redo the study of the social morphology of these regions, we believe it necessary to indicate in broad features how, under aspects sometimes a little different, the same cellular structure that we discover in the Moroccan South can be found among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the Moroccan North, in the Rif, and in Kabylie /Kabylia/; it will most often suffice for us to tell how certain of the observations already made by our predecessors agree exactly with the ones that we have been able to make in the Sous and the Anti-Atlas so that the profound unity of social structure of all Berbérie /Barbary/ may appear.

000 The land of the Jbala presents many analogies with the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; the one as well as the other border the plains held by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for a long time, and in both countries the mountain tribes apply themselves with all their strength to preserving their independence.

M. Michaux-Bellaire, who was studying this region in 1911, at the time when it was living in a state of complete liberty, distinguished, as we have done in the Moroccan South, several superposed organisms: the village, the "khoms," and the tribe (1).

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[113] 1. Michaux Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," Archives marocaines, Vol. XVII, p. 43.

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000 The village corresponds in its numerical size -- about a hundred hearths on the average -- to the unit that we found under the name of "moudaᶜ" in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/; like it, it is administered by the assembly of all the men, the "jemaᶜa." Several villages, about five or six, form a "khoms" or fifth, whose government is ensured by a council of notables, in the proportion of two men per village; the "khoms" has the same territorial dimensions and a numerical strength hardly greater than the "taqbilt" or fraction of the Masmouda. Several "khoms" combine to form a tribe, "qbila," whose external policy generally thrusts itself upon the fractions that constitute it; this higher group manifests its activity in the course of general meetings, in serious circumstances, when all the notables gather in the presence of the warriors of the whole territory. But although the tribes have a more visible life here than in the Moroccan South and although they customarily totally enter into the war that /172/ pits the two great historic leagues of the Senhaja and the Ghomara against each other, the "khoms" nonetheless keeps great autonomy internally, and its vitality is more marked than that of the other, lower groups, such as villages and hamlets.

XIII. Importance of the "Khoms." -- One could not find better proof of this individuality of the "Khoms" than in the existence of a special badge. Each tribal fraction, says M. Michaux-Bellaire (1), "has a flag (alam) that is carried by one of the inhabitants of the 'khoms' designated for that purpose, and who keeps the flag in his house. This flag is not like the banner of the brotherhoods or of the marabouts, a piece of cloth, more or less rich and more or less embroidered, and of a color left to the whim of the donor. This is a real flag of a fixed color and one that does not change, so that each fraction is recognized from afar by the flag that is carried with it ... In combat the flag of each fraction accompanies

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1. Michaux-Bellaire, loc. cit., pp. 74-77.

/172 cont./

000 the combatants and serves them as a rallying point ... What is rather worth noting is that the Djebala, in their struggles between tribes, try reciprocally to take possession of each other's flag, and the taking of one of these flags is considered as a triumph for those who succeeded in taking possession of the one of the enemy's party, and as a disgrace for the ones who allowed theirs to be taken. A fraction whose flag has been taken is mocked on this subject by the other Djebala. The flag taken from the enemy is brought back in triumph by the victorious fraction with the accompaniment of music, of tabbal /tabla, tambourine drum/ and ghaita. It is brought to the sheik's house and planted in a tree in front of this house, like a trophy. It generally happens that the enemies are reconciled by the mediation of the shorfa /shurfa/ influential in the tribes and that, among the clauses of the reconciliation, the redemption of the flag is stipulated with certain conditions."

Moreover, it should be noted that the alam of the "khoms" is different from the standard delivered to the kaid of the Arab tribes by the Sultan, which takes the name of "terrada." Therefore that is a local custom, deeply bound up with the political life of the country. The author of the study on the "Tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Mountain tribes of the Habt region/" concludes, /173/ in these words that we preserve here because they show among the Ghomara of the Djebel ideas and feelings similar to the ones that we have observed among their Masmouda brothers of the western Atlas: "The existence of a true flag peculiar to each tribal fraction in the Djebala, the point of honor attached to the defense of this flag, and the disgrace that there is in letting it be taken indeed indicate a kind of feeling of patriotism among the montagnards. The fact that this flag is not the one of a marabout or of a zaouia and that no religious idea seems to be connected with it denotes on the part of those who are capable of this attachment for the flag as emblem of the tribe or of the fraction of a tribe a feeling of affection for their soil and of solidarity of race beside religious solidarity and the superstitious veneration for the local marabouts, dead or

/173 cont./

000 living. Doubtless, this patriotism is very limited since it extends only to the small territory of a fraction of a tribe, but it is nonetheless the sign of a mentality that is not solely religious and it denotes a feeling of autonomy all the greater because the flags of the Djebala float above the combatants, not only in the struggles between tribes, but equally in their battles against the troops of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and because they then draw themselves up opposite the red flag of the Sultan."

XIV. Tribes and fractions among the Senhaja of Srair. -- The social life of the Rif, especially in the mountainous region of the Senhaja of Srair and on the coast between the Ouringa, western frontier of the Mtiwa, and the Ighzer Amqran, eastern limit of the Aït Temsaman, appears in the same aspects.

Around the summits of the Tidighin -- on which legend has it that Noah's ark stopped -- the conditions of existence present great analogies with those of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Same narrow and deep valleys, closed by gorges, same villages lost in the greenery of the walnut trees, same independent life sheltered from the influences of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

There again we see the villages, sometimes larger than in the country of the Masmouda, unite to form groups of about 200 households, which here again take the name of "khoms," and whose federation constitutes the tribe. The small tribes of the summits, such as the Beni Khennous, the Beni Bou Nsar, have /174/ only a single "khoms" and in their dimensions and their strength are identical to the independent "taqbilt" that we have found around the Tichka in the country of the Masmouda. Lower, toward the sea or the Wergha, the tribes almost all have four or five khoms, each of which maintains a distinct existence.

Sometimes it happens, as in the mountainous regions or the plains of the Sous, that a geographic cadre completely prepared by nature fixed the location of a small tribe and delimited a territory that surpasses, by its area and wealth, the importance of a khoms; but here again we then see the laws of the social life prevail over those of the material life. The division into two

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600 enemy parts comes to break the unity that the geography seemed to impose.

Thus, the rich valley of Taghzout, to the south of the Tidighin, seems destined to constitute a simple little state, with precise boundaries. The villages there take on, thanks to the fertility of the soil and the activity of the inhabitants, an unusual importance. Each of them, lost under the shade of immense walnut trees, forms with its mosque, its saints' tombs, its sacred woods in which the councils of notables deliberate, a center of peaceful activity. Renowned artisans come to give through their work an unexpected look of urban animation to this privileged corner of the mountains. But there, as at Massat, in the plain of the Sous, among the Aït Mzal of the Anti-Atlas, as well as in the Aghbar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the imperative necessity of dividing into fractions created two divisions; it is necessary to distinguish in this valley Taghzout n Dara and Taghzout n Ouarigha -- upper Taghzout and lower Taghzout, which form separate cantons. Certain "lower" hamlets were founded by inhabitants of the upper fraction, who, as long as peace reigns, maintain the relations that they like with their "brothers" from the other part of the valley. But when war breaks out, the blood ties no longer count. The obligations of each warrior are marked by the location of his house in the territory of the tribe. Then the fights are so furious that a few years ago one saw the blacksmiths of the country, famous throughout Morocco for their skill, fashioning crude cannons out of blocks of iron and hurling heavy stone cannon-balls on the enemy villages.

Likewise, the small plain of Targist, at the crossing of the routes of the Rif, in a frame of mountains, forms a natural center whose importance is increased because of the fertility of the soil. Here, /175/ it seems, there should be a town or at least a strong tribe united in the defense of the natural wealth of the country. But it happens that here again the geographical boundaries are too broadly drawn and the forces of dispersion have been more powerful than nature. In this minuscule state of 500 hearths, formed by 12 villages in a line at the foot of the mountains, one distinguishes

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000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

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619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoᶜa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaᶜa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

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578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 619 634 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

[131] [792] 2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^c," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 578 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/176 cont./

631 634 619 The "igraoun" become for all the family groups the occasion to measure their strength, and it very often happens, when the tribe is left to itself, that all government disappears to make way for domination by the most bellicose.

Nevertheless, even in these unfavorable circumstances, the feeling of the unity of the territory exists, and, despite private wars, the assembly of the clans that forms the council of the "khoms" still keeps, by a prodigy of collective memory, the precise notion of the territorial limits. One sees it reappear intact when the common interests are threatened.

631 619 There exist in the north of Morocco, as in the south, above the tribes, larger groups that merit the name of confederations: they are, on the one hand, the Ghomara, made up of nine tribes, between the Ouringa, Chichaouen, and Tigissas, and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair around the Tidighin, who bring together ten. Those are the remains -- the witnesses, one might say -- of two ethnic masses -- Ghomara and Senhaja -- whose struggles have filled almost all the history of the country. We shall soon see how in our time, when the war between the two races is subsiding, there is appearing among the tribes detached from one or the other of the two confederations the idea of league or of political party, which is being substituted for the old belief in a common origin. It is nontheless interesting to observe here that these two confederations, which have best preserved the historic tradition of the two great enemy races of the Senhaja and Ghomara, are only, however, almost inorganic masses of tribes, which have only fragile and poorly defined bonds between them (1).

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1. The Ghomara tribes are united above all by their historical traditions. They have, however, kept a meeting center, Aïn Hajer, and a hierarchical order (Beni Bouzra, Beni /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Rzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa).

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/176 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492]/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "ᶜarch." The "ᶜarch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

/177 cont./

000 At first sight, especially if one observes the state of the country since the conquest, it seems that the village, "taddert," is a unit comparable, by its institutions, with the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda. The common interests are referred to a "jema^{c}a." All men in a condition to bear arms belong by right to this assembly; in fact, only the family heads, "tomman," and the old men of good counsel, "^{c}oqqal," speak in it. The existence of a common treasury, the role of the "amin" or president, the manner in which the deliberations are held, make this small senate quite similar to the meetings of "Aït Arba^{c}in" or "Inflas" directed by the "moqaddem" in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

When the villages are too weak to constitute a numerous /178/ jema^{c}a, they assemble and form a "toufiq" /federation of hamlets/, so as to gather together forces equal to those of a normal "taddert." The analogy can then seem complete between this federation of small villages of the Djurjura and the group of hamlets that constitute an independent "taqbilt" in the western Atlas.

Nevertheless, if one is willing to examine with more attention the institutions of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ at the time of its independence, one sees that the "taddert" is rather comparable to the "mouda^c" of the Masmouda or to the village of the Jbala with a surplus of activity and internal life explicable by the existence of a denser population. It is, on the contrary, the "^{c}arch" that best represents the small autonomous state, master of its territory and of its policy, this canton whose so general existence we have observed in the preceding pages under the various names of "taqbilt," "afous," or "khoms" in the Sous and the north of Morocco. In truth, the jema^{c}a of the "^{c}arch," vanished today, was not made up in an invariable manner at all; each village was content to send two or three delegates to it, as was done for the "khoms" of the Jbala, but its jurisdictions were the same as those of the council of the "taqbilt" of the South of Morocco: watch over the security of the frontiers, maintain order, decide on war or peace. Often, harmony was maintained internally by setting the warriors against the weaker "^{c}arch" of the vicinity. If disturbances threatened, one did as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, restore

/178 cont./

000 good harmony by picking a fight with the traditional enemies outside (1).

> 1. La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Hanoteau and Letourneux, Paris, 1873, Vol. II, pp. 64-67.

The "ᶜarch," like the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda or the "khoms" of the Jbala, did not have absolutely invariable limits; sometimes villages detached themselves from it, groups became dismembered or federated separately; but by its relative stability this unit nevertheless constituted the most durable political grouping in Kabylie /Kabylia/. By invoking the modifications that certain "ᶜarch" of the Djurjura were able to undergo, there has sometimes been a desire to regard them as temporary federations, fragile associations concluded for a limited time, and to contrast to their claimed instability the strong constitution of the "taddert" (2).

> 2. Masqueray has already shown how the criticisms of Hanoteau and Letourneux on the importance of the "ᶜarch" should be reduced. Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, p. 93.

But this way of looking at it is /179/ contradicted by the observations made in the first years of the conquest; the vitality of these small states, so similar to the ones of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, appears then to have been as great as that of the "taqbilt" and the "khoms" of the sedentary peoples of Morocco (1).

> 1. Devaux, Les Kebailes du Djer[illegible]jera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, p. 40. The "ᶜarch" as a matter of fact completely enters into the composition of certain Kabyle soffs. Cf. p. 286 farther on.

/179 cont./

000 What could have contributed to making the idea of the preponderance of the village over the ᶜarch accepted is the rapid decline into which the ᶜarch quickly fell as a result of the submission of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ to France. This union of villages, this putting in common a territory whose defense was assured had interest only in a country often disturbed by war. Peace was to suffice to weaken the bond established among the "taddert" to constitute autonomous states. We see the same in Morocco, in the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the "khoms" of the Haha loses its importance little by little, and local life takes refuge in the narrower limits of the "moudaᶜ" (2).

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2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Revue de l'Afrique française 1905; rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

The constitution in Kabylie /Kabylia/ of new administrative units under French domination, known under the name of douars and whose boundaries, sometimes arbitrary, broke the ancient cadre of the "ᶜarch," clearly contributed to it. Since, on the other hand, the Kabyle villages already had great activity, one easily has the explanation that the "taddert" may appear in our day after the effacement of the "ᶜarch," with its minuscule territory and its still active jemaᶜa, as the only natural social unit remaining alive in Kabyle country.

The alliance of several "ᶜarch" formed a "qebila," tribe or confederation. But the institutions of these larger groups became less and less precise, and the bonds that united their parts appeared only quite rarely, during important wars. One might repeat for these "qebila" of the Djurjura what the study of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Rif enabled us to say for the confederations. Even greater masses of populations were uniting, in urgent circumstances, but, in order to assemble them, the instinct for defense against the foreigner or the firm hand of a powerful chief

/179 cont./

000 was necessary. Peril or personal authority having disappeared, the Kabylie /Kabylia/ again became a dust of independent states, united only by traditional alliances /180/ or the confused memory of great events lived through together (1).

1. A close comparison between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the other regions peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remains difficult to make, however, because of the great population density of the Djurjura. By the institutions, the "^{c}arch" resembles the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda and the "khoms" of the Djebala, but its territory is twice as small and three times more populous. Likewise the "taddert" visibly has the numerical importance of a "taqbilt" of the Masmouda -- 200 to 400 hearths -- at the same time that it presents structural analogies with the "mouda^{c}," as is evident especially in the case of the "toufiq," federation of hamlets.

XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ states. -- From this long study of the nature of the social groups of the diverse regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ it is now possible for us to draw a conclusion whose importance will appear still more completely when we better understand the political evolution of the country. Under the various names of "taqbilt," "khoms," "^{c}arch," we have everywhere verified the existence of small cantons with minuscule territory, which are really like the cells from which all the Berbère states are formed. Sometimes isolated in the high mountains, most often associated with its neighbors to form a tribe or a confederation, this organism is the most alive, the most active, and often the most stable state that the populations of North Africa have been capable of creating. It is made up of still weaker groups, villages and hamlets, whose special interests it defends, while it itself requires of the parts that form it a feeling for the

/180 cont./

000 general interest. In fact, this elementary state best affirms its vitality in the defense of its territory. Tribes and confederations can break up and disappear, the elements of which they were the sum continue to exist; even when cantons become modified, lose some villages and absorb others, they remain by their dimensions and their forces similar to themselves. One might say that their internal life appears to use up almost completely the constructive power of the men whose social instincts are so imperious and so simple at the same time.

Thus on this very narrow stage we shall see performed most of the acts of the drama of Berbère /Berber/ political life: the rise and development of power, the struggle of the chiefs and the masses, the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the explosion of revolts. From then on it is easy to understand what limited conceptions can quicken the minds of the senates that govern the mountain republics and whose horizon stops at the crests that border their valleys. Nothing /181/ great can come out of this mosaic of little states as long as the frontiers have not been broken and the chiefs have not abolished the local constitutions for a time while creating little kingdoms by violence.

But this smallness of the elementary Berbère /Berber/ states, which is a cause of weakness and which suffices to explain by itself alone the immobility in which the old populations of North Africa dwell, suffices to ensure the defense of the whole; they set a redoubtable force of inertia against the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Established in Morocco on the mountain chains that with the Rif form the central and western Atlas, like an arc inside which is found the plain subject to the central power, they sometimes receive the shock of the Arab tribes and the armies of the Sultan. A few blocks of the Berbère /Berber/ wall -- the cantons of the Dir -- totter or are crushed, but the high mountain remains unscathed and scarcely feels the blows given. Strongly united by the cement of the alliances of leffs -- whose nature and role we shall soon see -- the little independent republics are in equilibrium with one another, jealously defend their territory at the same time that they preserve their traditions. Thus one can

/181 cont./

000 understand that the inhabitants of these minuscule states could watch with indifference, from the height of their observation posts of the summits, where they find a safe shelter, the powerful empires of the Sultans rise, grow, and disappear in the plain (1).

1. We have intentionally left outside the limits of this study the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Morocco who live in tents and are still not completely settled on the soil. One could, however, draw numerous analogies between their mode of internal fractioning and that of the sedentary groups.

Among the Igerwan of the South, the Aït Ndhir, Aït Mgild, the family group, corresponding to the "Ikhs" of the Atlas or to the "kharrouba" of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, takes the name of "rif." A group of "rif," which is called "douar" or "tigemmi," appears to us analogous to the "mouda^{c}" of the Atlas or to the Kabyle "taddart" /sic/; the "Ighs," which is made up of several "douar," seems to have approximately the size and the institutions of the Kabyle "^{c}arch" (Cf. Bruno, "Notes sur le Statut coutumier des Berbères marocains /Notes on the Customary Law of the Moroccan Berbers/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 3, pp. 135-137).

Among the Zemmour, the families ("ikhs") unite to form an "asoun," which itself enters into the composition of the "fakhda," or fraction ("Les Zemmour," Captain Querleux, Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part II, p. 22).

Finally the Izayan of Oulmes are acquainted with: the "rif," family formed of one group of tents, the "asoun" constituted by several "rif," finally the "tighst" and the "ighs," subfraction or fraction.

In spite of these resemblances, it nevertheless does not appear to us possible to make, between

000 /181 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ these units and the ones found among the sedentary populations, comparisons rigorous enough to permit one to affirm identity of structure.

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Chapter III
The Alliances of Tribes and of Cantons

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- V. The leffs during peace -- VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. -- X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- XI. Political role of the leffs. -- XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs. -- XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- XV. The Soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- XVI. Kabylie has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

*634 616 171 I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- Each of the little Berbère /Berber/ states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which lives within the narrow boundaries of its valley while following the tradition of the ancestors, comes out of its political isolation by entering into one of the two great alliances between which the mountains are divided. Secular bonds thus unite all the "taqbilt" according to particular rules impossible to uncover, but in a way so as to form two opposed parties of equal strength, capable of sustaining their members in peace and in war. Under the name of "leff" or "soff," analogous alliances have been observed, not only among the Berbère /Berber/ tribes having preserved their

/182 cont./
*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such
importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the
Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study
it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which
the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the
chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with
similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among
the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura.
Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent
variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution,
and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of
all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been
178 profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the
small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.
*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
"taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in
[619] the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of
the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains
subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay
el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young
men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles,
used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./
616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the
children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
616 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
*634 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
616 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as
enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit
[175] together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
000 difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
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II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
*634 narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at
616 the end of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman the kaids of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghaïa, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aït Fademt" and "Aït Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aït Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aït Atman, Aït Fademt, Aït Zolit against the Imsifern, Aït Iraten, Aït Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/185 cont./
174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[632] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same
[621] size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker
units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the
plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or
the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el
Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

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"Indghertit," seems to furnish a derogation to the usual rules of equilibrium (1).

1. It may be that the explanation of this anomaly should be sought in the progressive development of these particularly warlike and conquering "taqbilt" (cf. p. 203 above).

Sometimes, moreover, local history shows us the repeated efforts of a canton to defeat the adverse villages established on the other side of the col. This is because control of the route of passage is especially precious, because it can augment the value of the alliances of leffs. Being able to communicate freely at any time with his "brothers" is, indeed, for the Berbère /Berber/ one of the most pressing necessities of his external policy; the small colonies that are sometimes found apparently isolated in the high valleys are always connected, by difficult roads, to stronger groups that can sustain them; there is no doubt but that this constant concern for free communications contributed toward creating the distribution of the two leffs that we observe at present in the form of cantons alternated and tied to their associates by the cols and the lines of crests.

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As a general rule it is whole "taqbilt" that enter into one or the other of the two leffs. There do exist sometimes, however, fractions that are peopled by families belonging to both parties, living in separate villages; such are the Aït Tounert of the canton of the Ida Ou Izimmer, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, or, in the region of the Sirwa, the Id Nouh. But this situation appears to be connected with the presence of former, weakened "taqbilt," absorbed by more powerful neighbors.

III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- The political chessboard of the leffs shows extreme importance for the life of the independent "taqbilt." /187/ Thanks to this arrangement of equilibrium, permanent assurance against the risks of war is thus constituted. In the tribe of the Aghbar, at the sources of the

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*634 616 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 627 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacification. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 616 571 [574] The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assistance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

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[113] 1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

/187 cont./

*634 shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all
616 the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the
57 "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's
[574] allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek
support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow accord-
ing to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the re-
[754] quest thus expressed. Another means of establishing a particular-
ly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the follow-
ing: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of
the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the
moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made
their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was
solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their
arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the
place of combat.

*634 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to
616 correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same
"taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind
726 of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an
indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning
of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms
in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa.
If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the
progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still re-
mained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a
few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see
arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to
get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./
*634 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the
616 parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to
726 one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who
571 enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^{c}" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before
182 the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït
616 Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the
726

/189 cont./
*634 head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the
616 taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two frac-
726 tions belonging to the same party. All the old men of the coun-
try still know that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the
173 time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling
*634 of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as
616 at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of
Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to
726 the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done
with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaoui
of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy
night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege,
cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there.
Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exter-
minated the male population and ruined the agadir, the collec-
tive fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the
"Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of
diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the terri-
*634 tory of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two
616 fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered
separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitu-
tion and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the
oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village
of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right
"to speak" in the assemblies.

*634 More recent events that have taken place among the Iwon-
616 sekten, in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa,
are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the
726 "Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makh-
zan/, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made
an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this success,
the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce
their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the
leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesma-
tert, of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in
the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

/190 cont./

*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then, in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
628 tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Aït Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiskt" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose figures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe. The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Aït Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "ṛeis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled
people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up
arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased
valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./
616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
*634 rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the "Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the "taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus it can happen that political events that took place on the north versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
[178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/192 cont./

*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Aït Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

616 /193 cont./

619 131 /footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Aït Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 619 131 648 It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
174 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

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1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

/195 cont./

616 174 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However 616 926 that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

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/196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Berber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

[616]
1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

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While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall [171] give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose [616] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," [578] whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/196 cont./

571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
*634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
616 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the insti-
174 tution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

/197 cont./

616 174 on this region from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries any argument in favor of the presence of two large enemy families, traditionally hostile and whose struggles could have resulted in the inextricable confusion of today (1).

[601] 1. It is true that the Berbères /Berbers/ designated their leff brothers by the term "Altmas," the "sons of the same mother." But in matters concerning social ties the language is not very precise and does not come to distinguish by a special name the fraction of the tribe, the leff of /sic/ the soff. Thus it is impossible to maintain this argument. What is more, this brotherhood is not conceived as the result of a true relationship, but rather as a sort of pact of perpetual alliance. The term of "Altmas," moreover, also designates the brothers of one family, the members of one canton, of one tribe, of one confederation, as the case may be.

616 *634 174 One may also call on a geographic explanation by appealing to the existence of natural compartments in the high valleys of the Atlas and which would have formed like alveoli in /198/ which the small Berbère /Berber/ communities would have settled one after the other. The permanent state of war, which would have put these independent states in opposition, would have spontaneously resulted in the constitution of systems of alliances established by taking into consideration above all the existence of the paths of communication by the lines of crests or by the cols. The distribution of the two leffs would then be like an almost direct consequence of the disposition of the relief.

Whatever the worth of these considerations may be in certain parts of the high mountains and although the existence of means of communication between friendly "taqbilt" is a necessity, it is impossible to be content with this simple observation and especially to give it general value.

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the [361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578] 1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, *Hespéris*, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 /footnote 1 continued/ played an important
616 role in the formation of the alliances, for the
174 region of the middle or lower course of the
131 wadis. This argument, however, is worthless
[312] in the high mountains where irrigation prob-
[578] lems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the
*634 origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High
616 Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never
578 been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn
174 Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the
619 struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and
of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that
it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes
that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the
proximity of their territories and the memory of their former
disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

175 Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade
*634 fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

619 3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us,
include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then
the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad
[616] Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

/199 cont./
175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou
Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south
versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classifi-
cation of the fractions in which the order and the place of each
one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the
booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for
ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./
174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great
circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the
tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
[616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./
174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and
have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then
had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the
right to speak," and their name would thus have become
synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taq-
bilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to ex-
619 plain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of
the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most
diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were
those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan"
pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence
of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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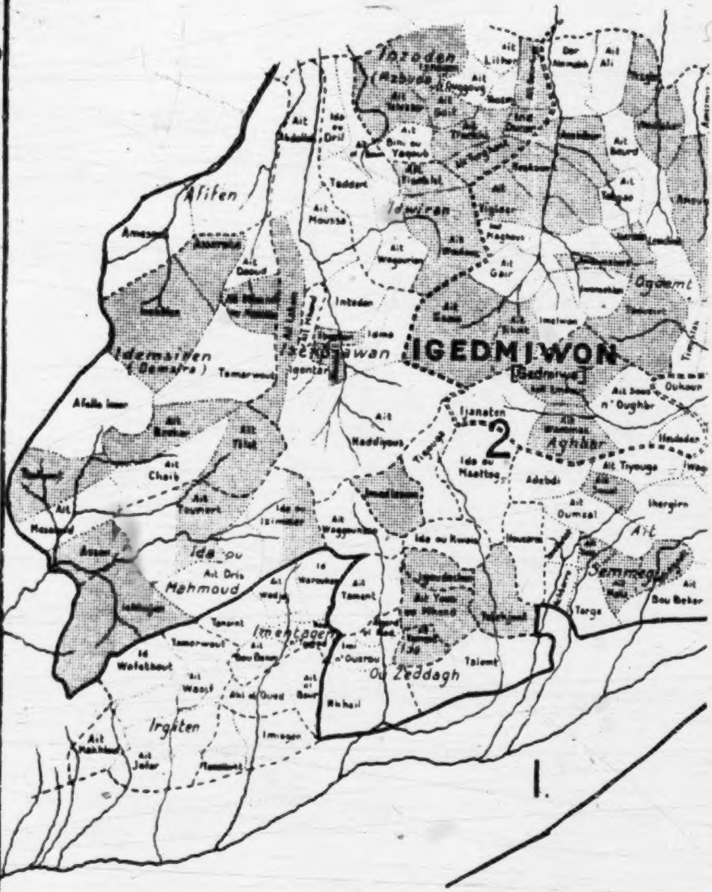
Inzoden
(Azbudas)
Ait Lithor
Ait Ali
Ida ou Drif
Ait Abdallah
Ait Bou Yaqoub
Taddert
Ait Mousse
Afifen
Idwiran
Ait Tigour
Ait Waguran
Ait Gair
Ait Daoud
Imtedan
Igentar
Ait Baha
Idemsiren
(Demsira)
Tamarwout
Afella Issar
IGEDMIWON
(Gedmiwa)
Ogdemt
Ait Saoun n'Oughbr
Ouhoun
Iganaten
2
Ait Haddiyous
Ait Wanikous
Aghbar
Ida ou Haattag
Adebdi
Ait Tiyouga
Ait Oumzal
Ihergirn
Hedaden
Ait Cherb
Ait Tilili
Ait Toumert
Ait Mesaoud
Ide ou Mahmoud
Ait Wagguhden
Ait Driz
Ida ou Kensus
Ait Semmeg
Ait Bou Beker
Ait Hala
Targa
Tamount
Tamerwout
Imentager
Ait Bou Beur
Id Wuluttoul
Ait Waasif
Ida ou Zeddagh
Ait n'Ouarou
Talemt
Irgiten
Imegen
Ait Makhled
Ait Jalar
1.

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlaś, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
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2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1.	Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs					
Zone 2.	Region of the leffs of the western Atlas	Ait Atman	Indghertit	Ait Fademt	Ait Zolit	☐
		Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis)	Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa)	Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)	Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)	▨
Zone 3.	Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua	Inemzel				▨
		Ait Iraten				☐
Zone 4.	Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas	Isouktan				▨
		Igezzoulen				☐
Zone 5.	Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)	Ait Atman				▨
		Ait Tintlet				☐

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
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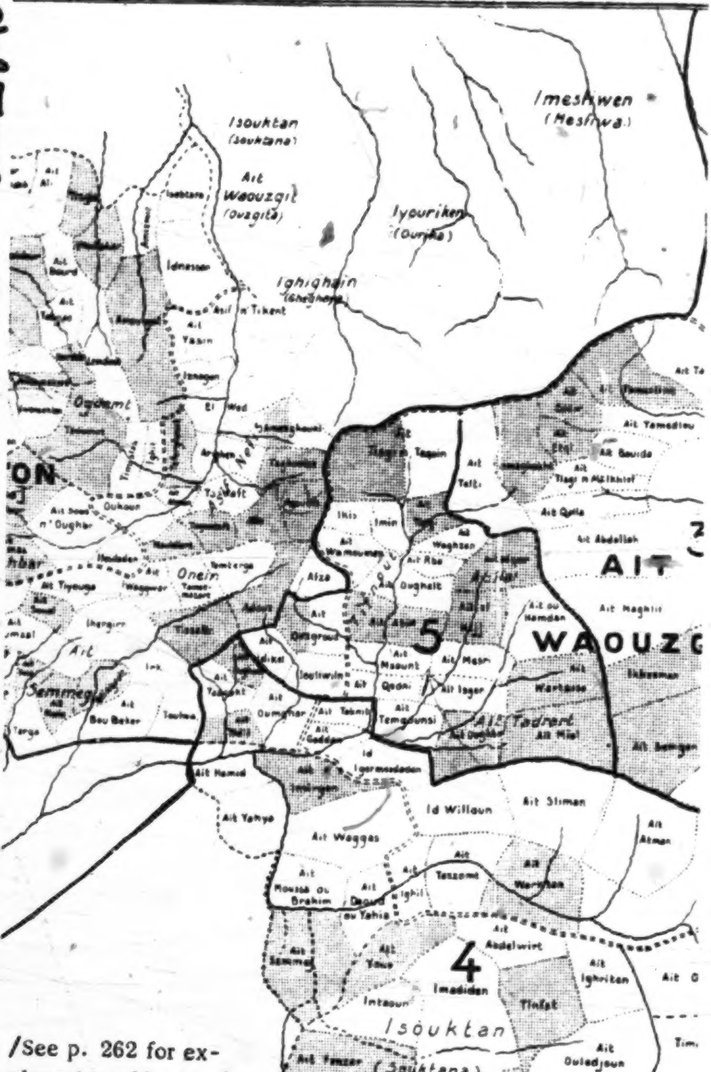
Imeshwen
(Mesfiwa)
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Iyouriken
(Ourika)
Ighighain
(Ghoghaia)
Idnassen
Ait n'Tikent
Ait Yasin
Ogdemt
ON
Ait Boud n'Ougher
Ouhour
Tagadirt
Onein
Ait Tiyouga
Ait Semmeg
Ait Bou Baker
Ait Hamid
Ait Yahya
Tiagrin
Taguin
Ait Telti
Imin
Ait Waghzen
Ait Rba
Oughelt
Ait Yamadiou
Ait Bouida
Ait Qalla
Ait Abdallah
AIT
WAOUZG
Ait ou Hamdan
Ait Maghlif
5
Ait Masount
Ait Mesri
Ait Isager
Ait Temgounsi
Ait Tadrart
Ait Miel
Ait Semgan
Ait Tekmit
Id Igormoudadan
Ait Imilgen
Id Willoun
Ait Sliman
Ait Waggas
Ait Atman
Ait Moussa ou Brahim
Ait Daoud ou Yahia
Ighil
Ait Tassemt
Ait Warkhan
4
Ait Abdelwirt
Ait Semmed
Ait Yous
Imadiden
Ait Ighriten
Intaoun
Tinfat
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Femzer
Ait Ouladjoun
Ait Hamid
Ilaunan
Ounzin
El Hadja
Azrar
Izezen
Ighghediyoun
Aginan
Imgharkiyn

/See p. 262 for explanation of boxes./

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
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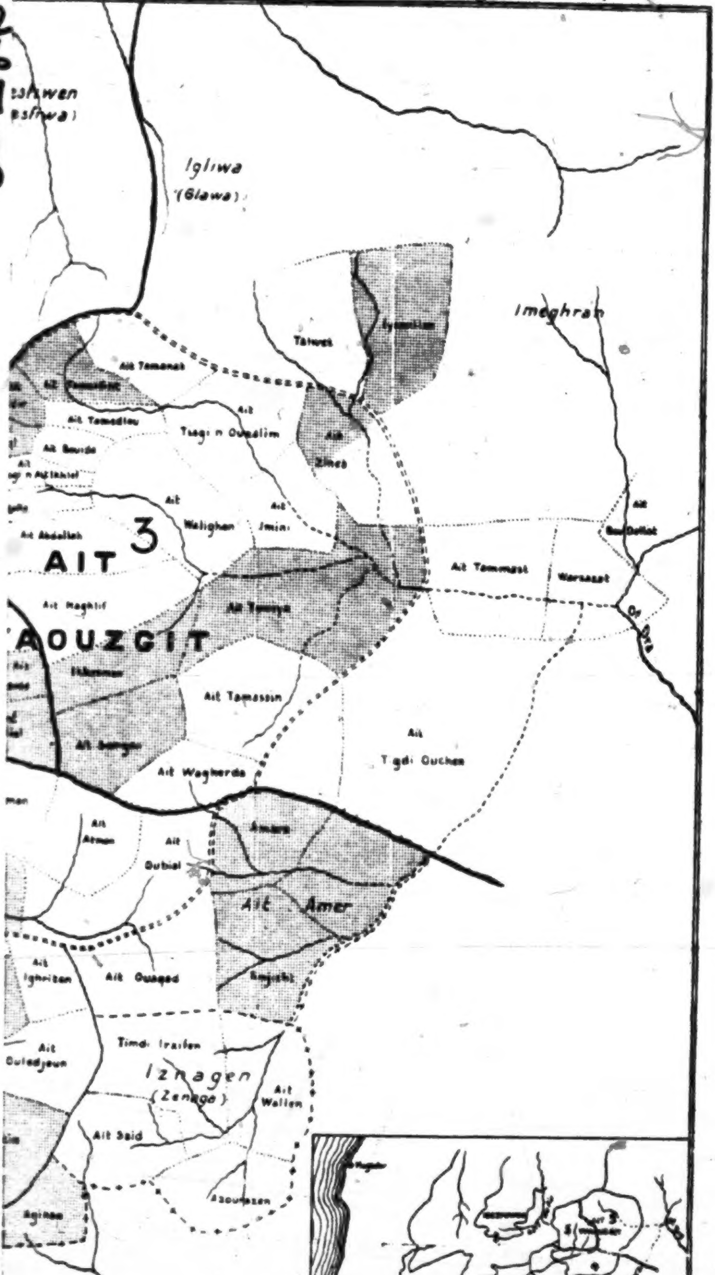

Igliwa
(Glawa)
Imeghran
Talwet
Ait Tamenat
Ait Tamadlou
Tsegi n Oudalim
Ait Boulda
Ait Zineb
Ait Weligham
Ait Jmini
Ait Abdallah
AIT
3
OUZGIT
Ait Maghlif
Ait Tammast
Warzazat
Ait Bou Dellal
Oued Dra
Ait Tamassin
Ait Tigdi Ouchen
Ait Wagherda
Amara
Ait Atman
Ait Oubial
Ait Amer
Ait Ighritan
Ait Ouaqad
Timdi Iraifen
Ait Ouladjoun
Iznagen
(Zenaga)
Ait Wallen
Ait Said
Azourazen

/201 cont./
616 114 *634 [113] with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by C^{t} Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous . . . /Notes on the History of the Sous . . ./," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 616 619 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential aspects.

Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

101 The "Aoggwa" (1)

616
619 1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the
western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain
[131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the
[491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the
other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït
Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the
transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart
and Tizounin.

616 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare
619 that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole,
184 especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even
confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances.
On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the
Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton.
Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of
the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information
he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing
the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In going around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the
616 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana
619 that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

616 /footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen,
619 and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan"
[101] to indicate the leff.
*[634] In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616 XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The im-
184 portance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of
[792] the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one
[578] still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

616 In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of
619 Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of
578 the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at
184 the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726] In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was con-
[538] stant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, be-
616 sides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the
619 mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

2: Montagne--268 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

102
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/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

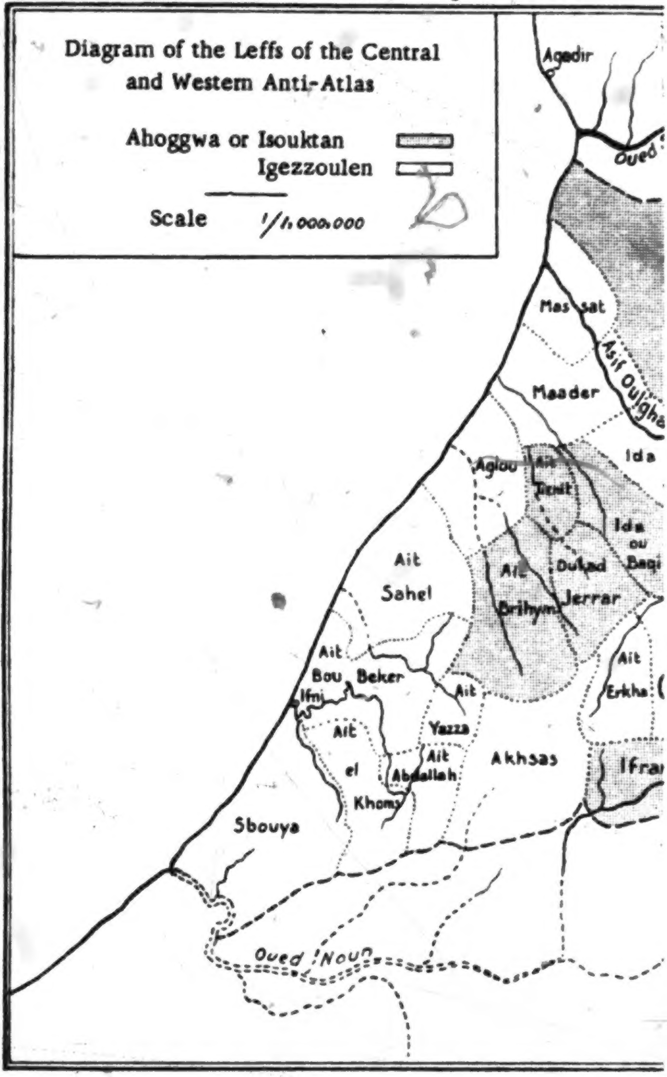
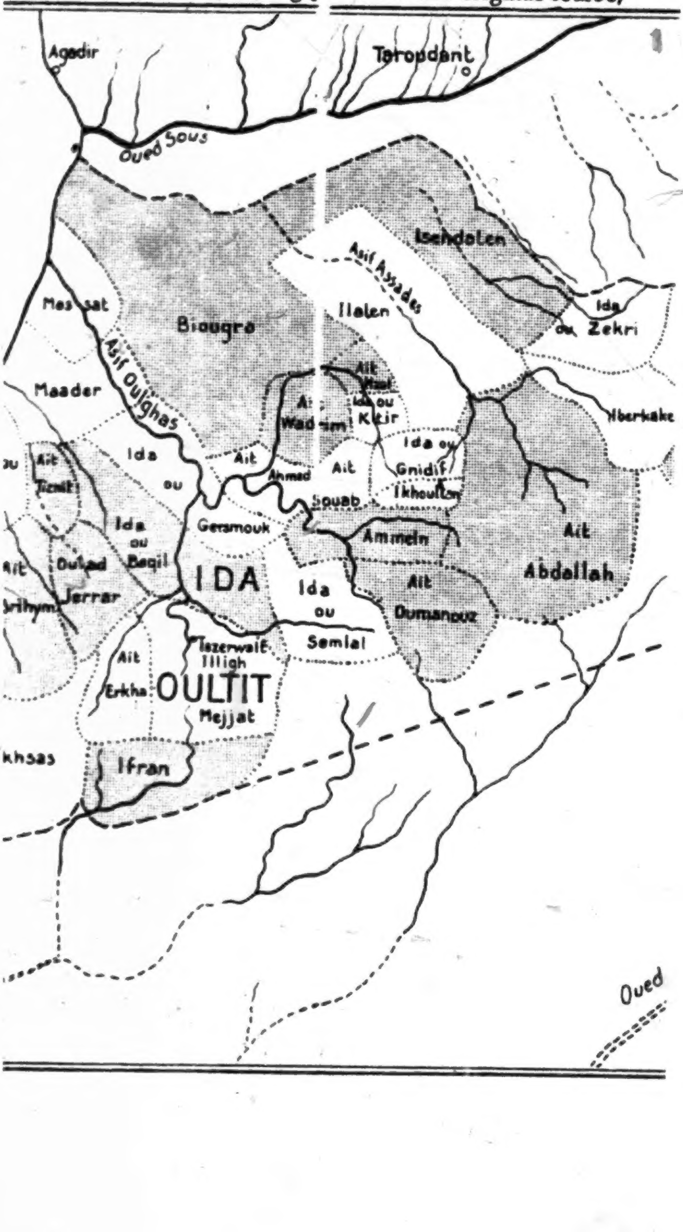


Diagram of the Leffs of the Central and Western Anti-Atlas
Ahoggwa or Isouktan ▨
Igezzoulen ☐
Scale 1/1,000,000
Agadir
Oued
Massat
Asif Oulgha
Maader
Ida
Aglou
Ait Jerrit
Ida ou Baqi
Ait Brihym
Oulad Jerrar
Ait Sahel
Ait Bou Beker
Ifni
Ait Yazza
Ait el Khoms
Ait Abdallah
Akhsas
Ait Erkha
Ifra
Sbouya
Oued Noun

2: Montagne--269 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

102
131
133
616
619

/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/


Agadir
Taroudant
Oued Sous
Isendalen
Asif Assades
Ilalen
Ida ou Zekri
Mes sat
Biougra
Asif Oulghas
Maader
Ait Mzal
Ait Wadrim
Ida ou Ktir
Iberkake
Ida ou
Ait Tiznit
Ait
Ahmed
Ait Souab
Ida ou Gnidif
Ikhoullan
Ida ou Baqil
Geramouk
Ammeln
Ait Abdallah
Ait Oulad Jerrar
Brihym
IDA
Ida ou Semlal
Ait Oumanouz
Tazerwalt Illigh
Ait Erkha
OULTIT
Mejjat
khsas
Ifran
Oued

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

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131
133
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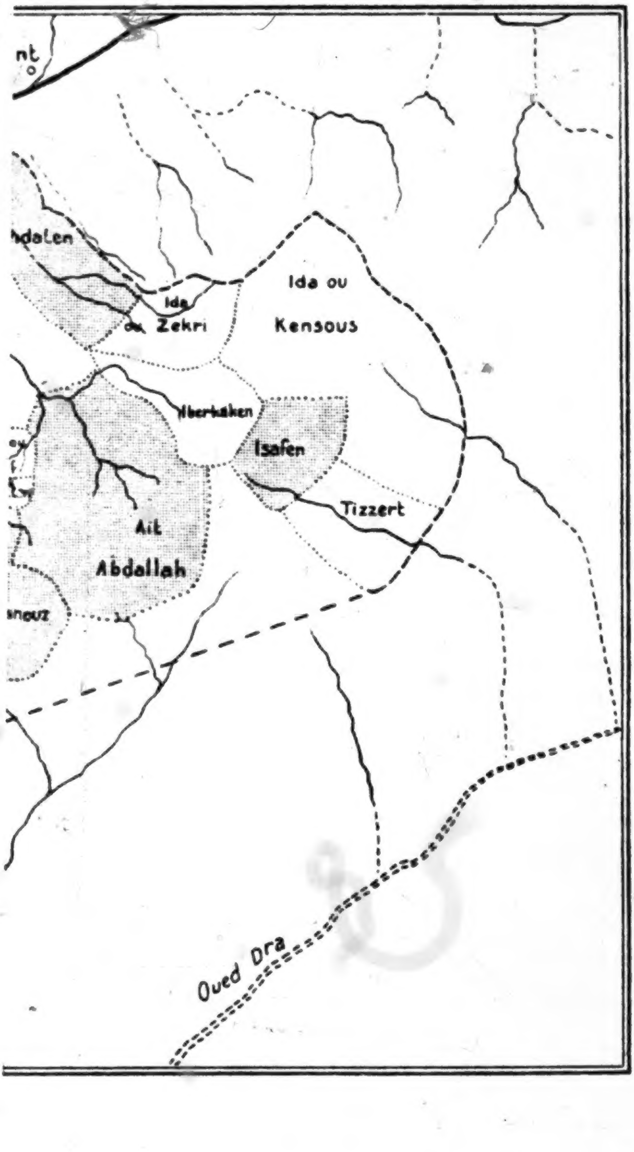
619


nt
dalen
Ida
ou Zekri
Ida ou
Kensous
lberkaken
Isafen
Tizzert
Ait
Abdallah
snouz
Oued Dra

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike
agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the
Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the des-
[173] ert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./
616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty
years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igez-
zoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Maʿqil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

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[167]
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/205 cont./
produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

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XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

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1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

/206 cont./

616
171

/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

In the region of the Habt, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "ᶜalam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "ᶜalam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

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/*206 cont.*/

616 can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish
619 (Jaïa) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been
171 "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja
foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from
Lamtouna (2);

> 2. Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit*.

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /*207*/ designated by birds (1),

> 1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn ᶜArdoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

> 2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (*the rats*); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (*the frogs*); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (*the carob tree*); Ida Ou Finis : Id bou leqchour (*pomegranate rind*); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (*the sound* /Fr. *le son*, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (*the bearers of bad luck*); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (*the bitterness*); Aït Ousa : Id

616 619 171 /207 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616 648 174 In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/207 cont.//

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds
to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units.
Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the
center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the
crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the
other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah,
around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the
Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost
regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the
two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger
or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 178 616 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Morocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 131 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

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ᶜAlam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

[127]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The
[616]
[648]
Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

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At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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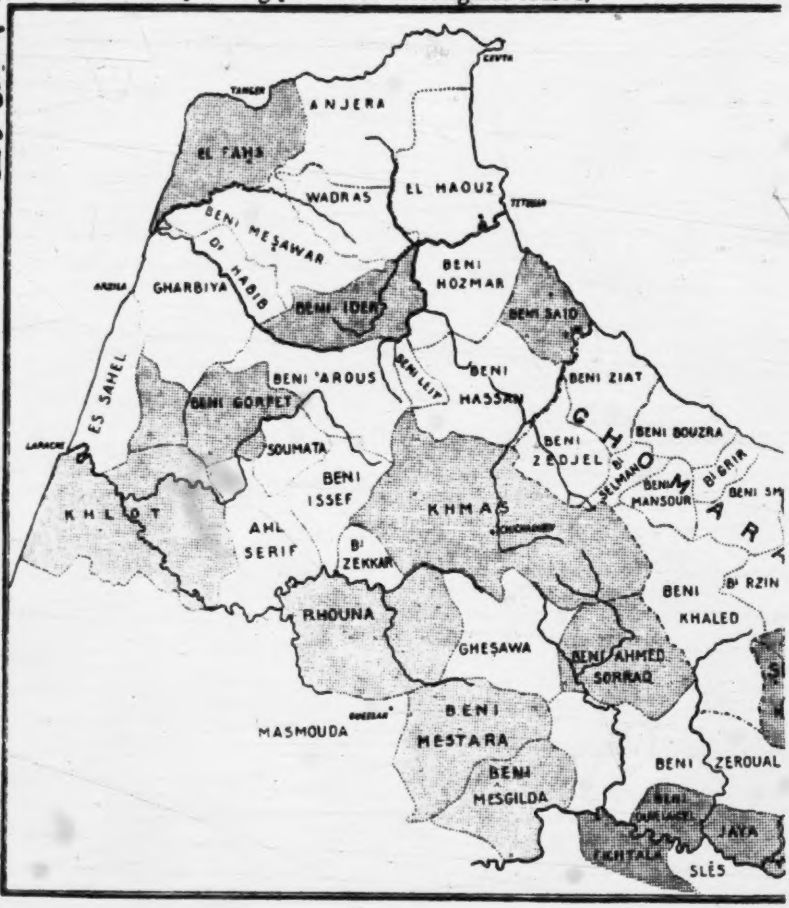
CEUTA
TANGER
ANJERA
EL FAHS
WADRAS
EL HAOUZ
BENI MESAWAR
DI HABIB
ARZILA
GHARBIYA
BENI IDER
BENI HOZMAR
BENI SAID
ES SAHEL
BENI 'AROUS
BENI LEIT
BENI HASSAN
BENI ZIAT
BENI GORFET
LARACHE
SOUMATA
GHOMARA
BENI BOUZRA
BENI ZEDJEL
BI SELMAN
BENI MANSOUR
BI GRIR
BENI SM
KHLOT
BENI ISSEF
KHMAS
AHL SERIF
BI ZEKKAR
BI RZIN
BENI KHALED
RHOUNA
GHESAWA
BENI AHMED
SORRAQ
BENI MESTARA
MASMOUDA
BENI MESGILDA
BENI ZEROUAL
FICHTALA
JAYA
SLÈS

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102 The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
131 The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are
133 shaded; those of the Tribes of the Ghomara àlam are in white
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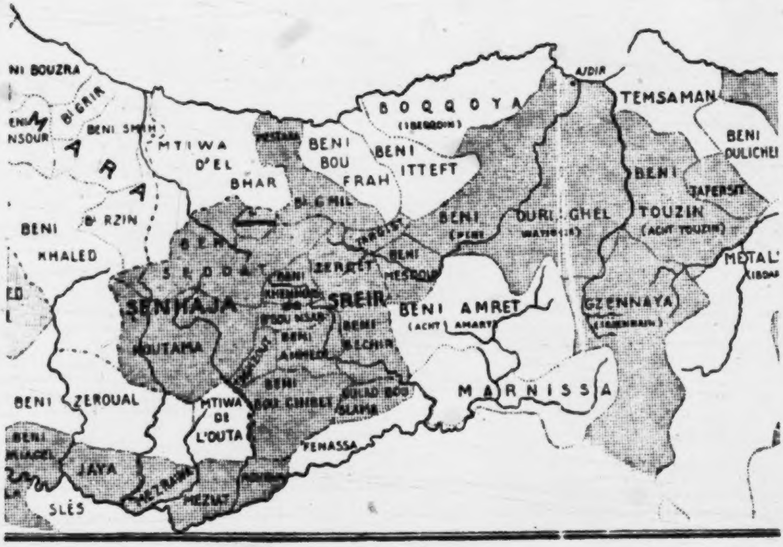
Scale $\frac{1}{800,000}$


NI BOUZRA
B. GRIR
BENI SMIH
ENI
NSOUR
A R A
BENI KHALED
B. RZIN
MTIWA D'EL BHAR
MESTARA
BENI BOU FRAH
BOQQOYA (IBEQQOIN)
BENI ITTEFT
AJDIR
TEMSAMAN
BENI OULICHEK
BENI TOUZIN (ACHT TOUZIN)
TAFERSIT
B. GMIL
TARGUIST
BENI (...)
OURIAGHEL
BENI SEDDAT
ZERQET
BENI MESROUR
SENHAJA
SREIR
BENI AMRET (ACHT AMART)
GZENNAYA
METALSA
MOUTANA
BENI BECHIR
BENI AHMED
MARNISSA
BENI ZEROUAL
MTIWA DE L'OUTA
BENI BOU CHIBET
OULAD BOU SLAMA
FENASSA
BENI MIAGEL
JAYA
MEZRAWA
MEZIAT
SLÈS

/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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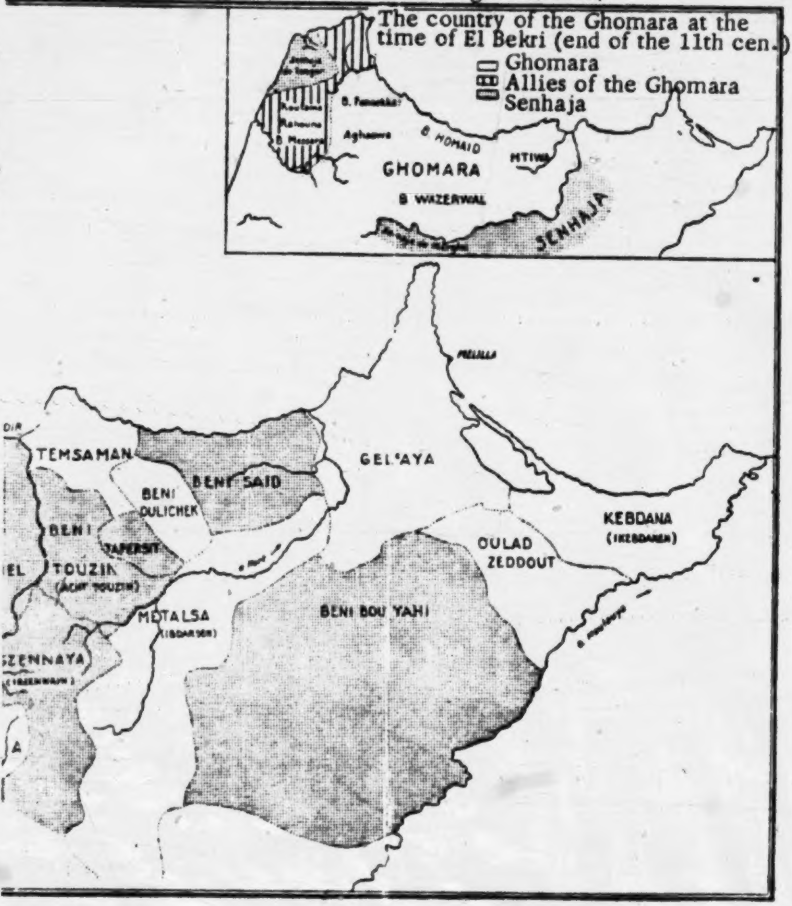
The country of the Ghomara at the time of El Bekri (end of the 11th cen.)
▭ Ghomara
▥ Allies of the Ghomara
▨ Senhaja
B. Fenounkhat
Aghaoura
B. HOMAID
MTIWA
GHOMARA
B WAZERWAL
SENHAJA
MELILLA
TEMSAMAN
BENI SAID
BENI OULICHEK
GEL'AYA
BENI
TAFERSIT
TOUZIN
(ACHT TOUZIN)
MOTALSA
(IBDAR'SEN)
BENI BOU YAHI
OULAD ZEDDOUT
KEBDANA
(IKEBDANEN)
ZENNAYA
(IGZENNAYEN)

/209 cont./

619 131 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

175 648 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Senhaja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/210 cont./

175 648 the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the western part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ᶜalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

648 [174] It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ... [619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

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1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

/210 cont./

619 648 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 616 648 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribution of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs. The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saîd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

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1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

/211 cont./

000 XV. The soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- In the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura the single name of "soff" has designated either family alliances within villages or political leagues into which a confederation, a tribe, or independent "^{c}arch" enter in their totality. It is necessary, however, in the light of the observations made in western Berbérie /Barbary/, to separate these two institutions in order to understand better their nature and role.

Hanoteau and Letourneux have described for us the village "soffs," constituted at the mercy of circumstances and which seem to be, from /212/ their composition, as variable as the soffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or of the Rif (1).

1. La Kabylie /Kabylia/. Vol. II, pp. 11-20.

The Kabyle changes sides frequently; the constitution of two soffs thus formed is only the form taken, at a given period, by the opposition of particular interests in a village. The obligation of mutual aid is moreover as rigorous for the members of the soff as in the more stable associations that we have described in the Moroccan Atlas under the name of leff. "Help your own, whether they are right or wrong," such is the motto of the members of the soff.

According to the different parts of the country, the soffs receive variable names: that of "the East" or of "the West," of the "middle" or of the "extremities," or borrow their name from the man most in view who directs them: "soff of El Hadj Boudjemaa" or of "Amer n Aït Amara." They succeed in uniting groups far from one another and thus go out of the cadre of the village or of the ^{c}arch. When this institution still had all its strength, in the first years that followed the conquest, there existed in Kabylie /Kabylia/ four groups of two soffs, which shared the whole country. But each of them was isolated from the others, and one did not find the correspondence of alliances that characterizes, for example, the leffs of the Masmouda of the Moroccan Atlas.

/212 cont./

000 XVI. The Kabylie /Kabylia/ has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- On the other hand, the Kabylie /Kabylia/ has known, up until the end of the eighteenth century, on the evidence of Hanoteau, two large alliances of a different nature, known by the name of "soff Oufella" and "soff Bou adda" -- upper soff and lower soff -- which appear to us to merit, in our terminology, the name of "leffs." Of an ancient origin, in any case prior to the sixteenth century, they united between them all the populations of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, most often by large tribes, but also by weaker units, especially in the mountainous regions of the Igawaoun and the Igouchdal. In this case it was a matter of territorial alliances and not, as in the other soffs, associations of persons. The appearance of the political checkerboard constituted by the elements of the two sides was then quite similar to the one that we have studied in the Jbel and the Rif in the country of the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara."

/213/ In the minds of the Kabyles, the origin of these two leagues should be sought in the fight that broke out one day between two enemy brothers, so that the "leffs" thus formed in the whole country would have been only the expansion of a soff of one village. It may be, as the legend indicates, that two rival families long ago played an important role in the opposition of the parties. But the similarity of the institutions of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ with those of the rest of Berbérie /Barbary/ spurs us on to look beyond the natural opposition of family groups for the cause of so general a political state.

Hanoteau had indeed noted that the two large leffs of old did not prevent the simultaneous existence of internal soffs, but that "the latter were much less disposed than in our time to wage war, each feeling the necessity of a close union against the enemy from outside" (1).

1. Hanoteau and Letourneux, ibid., Vol. II, p. 17.

/213 cont./

000 The observations made from the first years of the conquest by Captain Devaux (2), and whose value and interest Hanoteau had called in question, come to give light on the nature of an institution whose aspects are now familiar to us. When the memory of struggles of tribes was still very much alive in this mountain region where, from the information of Hanoteau himself, the two leffs appear to us to intersect and penetrate each other more, one could still discern the existence of a chessboard of fractions similar to the one of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. In the valley of Boughni, the units of each party were isolated "ᶜarch" that opposed one another with a surprising regularity, in the manner of the "taqbilt" of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal of the Masmouda. Hanoteau estimated à priori that such a balanced arrangement of the parties was impossible to imagine because it supposed on the part of the tribes "over-all views and ideas of general policy well above the reach of the Kabyle mind." From having observed over vast areas in the western Atlas a distribution of the two leffs in the very form in which Devaux verified it in the high valleys of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, we see the weakness of this objection. It is therefore necessary to restore to Devaux's observations all their value. Nevertheless it remains difficult to understand that the example of the valley of the Boughni has remained unique in the descriptions that the first investigators of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ have left us. /214/ In order to explain that silence, it may suffice to invoke the already late date of Hanoteau's studies made ten years after the conquest and especially the insufficiency of research conducted at that time on the politics of the tribes and the historical account of their struggles. On the other hand, it may be that the complexity of the alliances of soffs and their development in the nineteeth century masked the institution of the two

2. Devaux, Les Keballes du Djerdjera /The Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, Paris, 1859, pp. 39-40.

/214 cont./

000 large leffs, already stricken with decline for a hundred years, according to the tradition collected by Hanoteau (1).

1. Masqueray had indeed seen the importance of the observations of Devaux, who was describing a political state analogous to the one that he had personally found in the Aurès (Formation des cités /Formation of Cities/, p. 168). We do not wish to repeat here the aspects of this "damier en peuplade" /checkerboard of peoples/ constituted by the tribes of the Aurès, where the "soffs" appear so close to the leffs that we have studied among the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco. Indeed, it may be that the respective opposition of the tribes is explained in a different way in the Aurès, peopled by seminomads imperfectly settled there, where the conquest of the soil is still unfinished. Nevertheless, the example of the Aurès, where the equilibrium of the two parties seems to have been established without taking account of the geographic or ethnic divisions, comes to be added to the preceding ones in order to show the general characteristics of the institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

However that may be, the diagram of the political distribution of the "ᶜarch" of the Boughni, established by Devaux, together with the information from the authors of the investigation of the institutions of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ suffice for us to affirm the existence of a state of organization in this country similar to that of the other regions peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/. We are justified in thinking that the Djurdjura, like the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, long ago formed a kind of immense chessboard in two colors on which the tribes performed interminable combats, while observing the same rules as in the country of the Masmouda, up to the time when, for unknown reasons, in a

/214 cont./

000 period rather close to us, it would seem, the struggles of families, private vengeances outweighed the leff spirit, weakened these territorial alliances and made them disappear, to the profit of more fragile associations.

XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs. -- Perhaps we may be allowed, at the end of this long study, to try to establish a comparison among the various aspects of the institution of the leffs that we have studied in the large regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/.

On the one hand, one can first of all observe that in the mountainous massifs where there are tribes settled for long centuries without having suffered the shock of great masses of invaders, like the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Djurdjura, an /215/ almost perfect state of equilibrium is established among the smallest independent political units. On the other hand, where the opposition of the races and the coming of new tribes arriving in great numbers transform the conditions of existence of the former occupants, as in the Anti-Atlas before the thirteenth century or the Rif about the eleventh, one ascertains that entire confederations or large tribes clash and fight for political preponderance and possession of the best lands; at this stage, during the period that follows the invasions, the leffs seem to us then to be ethnic divisions, whereas in the stabilized regions they are no more than simple political divisions.

Between these two extreme aspects, the current example of the Jbala and of the Rif perhaps offers us a state of transition. In fact, we see the fractioning of the two hostile masses take place little by little, while the idea of race disappears little by little to make way for that of party.

One might then imagine that the Anti-Atlas, the Rif, then the Atlas of the Masmouda and the Kabylie /Kabylia/ in the last century would represent successive aspects of the same institution.

At the beginning of an invasion, such as that of the Igezzoulen, for example, upon their arrival in the Anti-Atlas in compact

/215 cont./

000 masses, the newcomers would begin, in clashing with the former occupants, to instigate the decomposition of adverse groups by integrating them through alliances; tribes such as the Aoggwa or the Isouktan would give their name to the league of the autochthons and instigate in the same way defections among the invaders; little by little the fractioning would go on in such a way as to realize a balance of small tribes, such as is seen in our day in the Atlantic plain of the Sous or of the eastern Anti-Atlas.

The Ghomara and Senhaja, as we can observe them at present and whose state was, it seems, in the eleventh century, similar to that of the Igezzoulen and Aoggwa of our time, would offer us the second stage of the transformation; already we see, as a matter of fact, social units of slight importance enter into the alliance, and the memory of the race war falls into oblivion.

It would be necessary to regard as the sign of a still more advanced state of the disintegration of two groups the present-day constitution of the leffs of the Masmouda, into which simple fractions enter, /216/ while the names taken by the leffs themselves are those of former fractions of tribes remarkable for their valor or their magical talents. It is in this state of morcellation that the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurdjura would thus have been found at the time of the two soffs Bouadda and Oufella, in that bygone period that the investigations of Hanoteau and the observations of Devaux avouched.

Is it necessary to go further and regard the later development of the Kabyle soffs within the villages as the ultimate end of this division into unceasingly weaker units, an eternal tendency common to all Berbère /Berber/ societies? It may be, however, that the war of families within the village or the tribe is a social phenomenon of a different order. Indeed, while the development of the institution of the leffs, pushed to the extreme limit of political fractioning, appears bound to end in the preservation of the elementary groups, such as the "khoms," the "taqbilt," and the "ᶜarch," it seems, on the contrary, that the opposition of the families in the form of soff struggles comes quite quickly, at least among the sedentary peoples of Morocco, to break up the

/216 cont./

000 unity of the fractions, such as appears in the most anarchical regions of the Rif.

Whatever may be the value of the hypothesis that we are proposing in order to account for the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, a comparison of the various aspects of this institution suffices to show how it is bound up with the most general conditions of the material, social, and political life of the tribes. When one studies the existence of these little elementary societies, one is struck both by the tyranny exerted on the individual by the group and by the powerlessness of the latter to make anarchy disappear from its bosom. The leffs materialize and project on the soil, one might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berbère /Berber/ life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord.

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Chapter IV

The Republican Organization; the Political Institutions

I. The institutions of the Mouda^c. -- II. The council of the canton. -- III. The inflas; their magical origin. -- IV. The moqaddem. -- V. The distribution of the fines. -- VI. The councils of cantons or of tribes without moqaddem. -- VII. The justice circuits. -- VIII. The internal and external wars. -- IX. The festivities and the dances. -- X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Jbala, of the Branès. -- XI. The Riffian anarchy.-- XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

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We have shown the particular importance of the small social unit that, under the various names of "taqbilt" in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "khoms" in the Anti-Atlas and the Rif, "ᶜarch" in the Djurdjura, is the true fatherland for the independent Berbère /Berber/. Indeed, it is within these narrow limits of a state to which we have given the name of canton that the simple and patriarchal institutions of the oligarchic republics, in which the inhabitants of the high valleys have delighted for long centuries, have developed.

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*634 121 First we shall try to describe the organization of these small states in the region of the western Atlas. This organization has doubtless been partially transformed for two generations by the development of personal power. But one can still, by studying the life of the fractions remaining free up to the present in the most remote valleys, find what was formerly the political life of a large part of the mountains of the Masmouda, to which it would not have been exaggerated to give, half a century ago, the name of Kabylie du Haut-Atlas /Kabylia of the High Atlas/. Next, by comparing this region with the best known parts of the Anti-Atlas and of the Rif, it will be easy to see once again the similarity that exists between the political traditions of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of Morocco and those of their Kabyle brothers of Algeria.

*634 621 632 /218/ I. The institutions of the "Moudaᶜ." -- The "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda is most often formed by a group of "moudaᶜ." The "moudaᶜ" joins together several hamlets; the hamlet, several families. Each of these small units has its traditions, its customs of life in common, and, one might say, its "political constitution."

613 The family, "Ikhs" (pl. ikhsan), as we have said, is a patriarchal and agnatic group, more or less undivided, which most often includes ten or fifteen hearths. It usually suffices, in order to find again the eponymous ancestor of the Ikhs, to go back three or four generations, for, as we have seen, the renewing of the population is rapid, even in the high valleys; very frequent epidemics, exile, the struggle of soffs suffice to disperse the most vigorous groups or limit their growth.

595 In each household a rigorous monogamy is observed; in the regions at present won over by the political transformation, one hardly sees even the sheiks who have become rich marry a [539] second wife late in life. A saying of the Gedmiwa promises the greatest misfortunes to those who bring a second wife into the household: "O you who have two wives, may the grasshoppers

/218 cont./
595 eat your harvests (1)!"
[539]

1. Compare *Sitte und Recht* /Custom and Law/, Ida ou Zal, p. 18.

592 In each family -- *stricto sensu* -- the sons rarely leave their
father, even after their marriage. Each house most often shel-
[768] ters three or four households. After their father's death, custom
decrees that the brothers continue to live in joint possession as
long as possible. By new alliances within this primitive group,
613 the descendants of the same ancestor come to form a small
social unit, into which the outsider is admitted only after a long
stay (2).

[113] 2. Compare Laoust, "Le Mariage chez les Berbères du Maroc /Marriage among the Berbers of Morocco/," *Arch. berbères*, Vol. I, p. 76.

[554] This group does not always have the oldest one as head; often it
is the richest and most influential one who speaks in the name of
his "brothers" in the assemblies whenever the honor or interests
of the "Ikhs" are involved.

621 Two or three "ikhs" customarily people a hamlet, "tad-
[613] chert," but it is not rare for one of them to be preponderant and
alone have the right to represent the common interests at the
assembly of the "taqbilt." Often in the regions neighboring the
[423] plains and above all in the Anti-Atlas the hamlet appears to us
/219/ as a small autonomous group smaller than the "mouda^c"
but which already possesses common property: manure, pasture
[351] lands, forest. A thick hedge of jujube trees dominated by a
watchtower protects against thieves. To ensure the safety of the
[625] inhabitants turns at guarding the gate are established, and there
is a night watch in the "borj" /watchtower/. The hamlet then
tends to organize its own life with respect to police, execution
of the corvées, repression of minor offenses, and thus it absorbs
part of the attributions of the "mouda^c."

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^c" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets
that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the details
of life. But if, according to common practice, the assembly
[554] is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make decisions
in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^c," to which the
[346] name "jema^{c}t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday
mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the
[755] Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, systematic
[574] regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to
spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village,
such are the little practical problems that the assembly must
solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^{c}t" augments its activity
[185] by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1),

[778]
[787] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited by the jema^{c}t to plow before a family that possesses "baraka" has found that circumstances are favorable for beginning the work. Cf. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
[423] and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons, the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done on trees belonging in common to a large number of owners, could be done only in the presence of the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the council.

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623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the ségulas; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
681 most often each "jema^{c}t" of a "mouda^c" fixes these penalties as
[625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[177] "mouda^c" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
[632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "mouda^c" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jema^{c}t" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

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632 1. It may happen that the organization of the
*634 "mouda^c" develops on the model of that of the
"taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
moqaddem. This is the case in several small
[619] tribes of the Seksawa (the Aït Haddiyous in par-
ticular). This event occurs in a region where
the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
life one of the phases of the appearance of new
autonomous fractions being formed by simple
growth of the "mouda^c." One also sees from

/220 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

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[632] [623] [613] [621] [556]

II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jemaᶜt" of the "moudaᶜ" is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact represented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each hamlet may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various families of the place. Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït OuᶜAzzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arbaᶜin" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arbaᶜin" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

/221 cont./

*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou l arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arba^cin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

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[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "reba^c," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

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The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

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III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arba^cin" is generally

*634 /222 cont./
184 replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "an-
174 flous" (1)
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[113] 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2).

2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

it is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success.
[184] Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the
*[631] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are
[619] the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3),

[113] 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./
*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4), sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ᶜAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured
178 the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

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4. Cf. above, p. 259.

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

/223 cont./
*634 times. But one could imagine that the care of deciding the af-
789 fairs of the tribe formerly belonged to men endowed with a
174 magical authority, the "inflas el khir," and that little by little
178 they were replaced in the bosom of the council by simple nota-
bles, powerful by their wealth or strong by their courage and the
*634 number of their brothers. To support this thesis, one might cite
789 the presence, in the political assembly of the fraction, of
184 counselors of "good augury," who are still found in our day on
[174] the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the tribes of
[178] the Ergita, Mentaga, Imedlaoun, Aït Waggonsan. There, as a
matter of fact, the council is made up of two parts: one of them is constituted by the representation of the families according to turns rigorously set by tradition; the other brings together the "men of good counsel," old men who are clever and know the traditions, or men famous for giving advice favored by fortune. The latter, who alone, properly speaking, merit the name of "inflas," are there called the "Imeslaïn" (2) or the "Imbarkiyn," and we see them intervene frequently in the deliberations and give their personal support to the moqaddems, presidents of the small independent republics of the Tichka.

Among the Ida Ou Tanan it is still "inflas el khir" who in the meetings disarm those who are cited before the "ajmoᶜa," general assembly of notables, and collect without shame the wages -- "outaïq" -- that the oldest or most respected men give them (3). Finally, elsewhere, such as in the Aghbar, among the Seksawa or

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2. Compare Huyghe, Dictionnaire kabyle-français /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, Paris, 1901, p. 224, "meslaie," to converse with someone about something, to speak.

3. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 238).

/223 cont./
*634 the Gedmiwa, these privileged inflas do not have /224/ magical
789 powers; they appear to us to be no more than the aides of the
184 moqaddem, "ʿawan," transmit his orders, give him advice, and
assist him in all circumstances. As proof of their devotion, they deposit guns or daggers in the leader's house as a pledge.

*634 IV. The moqaddem. -- Each year the council of the canton
554 meets in order to receive the administration accounts of its president, the "moqaddem" (1),

1. From the Arabic "qeddama," to place in front of oneself; literally, the one who is put at the head.

and to proceed to the nomination of his successor. According to ancient tradition in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the moqaddem must be an effaced man who at every moment considers himself the spokesman of the council. At his name indicates, he is only the first of the "inflas," the one who precedes, who is placed in front. For all important affairs he consults the heads of the "ikhs" and the men of good counsel, and when he has to act unexpectedly, he hastens to have his decision approved. Most often, he is
[666] chosen by turn in each village, sometimes his name is drawn by
[613] lot from among the heads of the "ikhs." In practice, however,
*634 the role of the moqaddem has been greatly expanded; it is he who
692 is most often chosen as arbitrator in disputes. If the affairs pre-
554 sented to him are too complex, he names another arbitrator, a stranger to the canton, or a cadi of the vicinity (2).

2. The cadi's decisions are often solicited by notables who are afraid of getting an unfavorable sentence in their cantons, but who are, on the other hand, strong enough to have the decision of an outside personage respected or executed in their village. Sometimes, too, the judgment of the cadi is considered to be less

554 *634 [692] /224 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585] [586] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He conducts
[428] the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and
then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes according
[681] to the ᶜorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and
imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money
thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the
moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider
that they represent completely in this circumstance; the
last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of
hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth
[292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power
of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb
[613] /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to deliberate,
[571] to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ᶜar"
[754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners
[574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him
[431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole
canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and
[628] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of
[574] visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is
a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas"
or the "ᶜawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to
the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the
[666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement.
As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his
magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

As a result of the general tendency toward the development
[178] of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our
day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the
ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the
agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/225 cont./

*634 554 firmly and "does not shut the door" weakens the tribe; he is not capable, it is said, of making the necessary decisions in order to ensure for the canton, amidst the perils that threaten it, a free and independent life.

*634 673 [681] When the moqaddem assumes his duties, he often decrees a list of infractions that will be repressed through his attentions, according to a scale that he has established in agreement with his advisers. An act is drawn up, the authenticity of which is certified by the notables. An examination of these acts sometimes allows us to divine the struggles that break out within these small [613] states. In the Haut-Atlas, one often sees appear, in place of the names of the 12 or 15 heads of the "ikhs" who represent the canton, on the sheet written by the taleb, that of three or four powerful personages, friends of the moqaddem, who take it upon themselves to accept in the name of the whole group the regulations decreed by the new leader. There is thus formed a kind of little senate that diminishes the political importance of the canton council.

*634 184 Among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the internal government of the "taqbilt" takes a form through which the influence of the richest notables is indicated even better. There, the members of the council -- the "Aït ed diwan," are only four in number. The assembly of the "Aït Arbaᶜin" nevertheless exists; it is made up of young men designated for a year at the rate of one per family, who come in /226/ turn to make sure of the watch in the collective fortress, receive their part of the fines collected, eat the meals offered by the guilty ones to the tribe. When they have nothing better to do, they go to look for wood for the mosque and heat the water for ablutions. And so, in derision, they are given the surname of "bou khorbich" (1).

1. Khorbich, room adjoining the mosque, where the water for ablutions is heated.

To this effacement of the council thus corresponds an increase of the power of the "senate." At the same time the attributions of

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the moqaddem, jealously watched by the influential notables, are reduced.

The political constitutions of all these small states are far from identical; in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ certain cantons name their moqaddem under conditions that differ greatly from those that we have indicated. Thus, the Aït Cha^{c}ïb, in the tribe of the Demsira, who put up a furious resistance against the domination of the kaids of the Mtougga, proceed in the following manner. At the beginning of the year, the "taqbilt" gathers 100 armed men in a religious sanctuary. Fifteen daggers are handed to the representatives of the "mouda^c" whose turn for command has arrived. The latter then designate the moqaddem, who says a prayer and in turn names the Aït Arba^{c}in for the year, at the rate of two per "mouda^c." In this fraction one also sees the moqaddem gather together in serious cases, not only the Aït Arba^{c}in in office, but all the notables. Moreover, his powers are more extensive than elsewhere; the Aït Arba^{c}in are at his orders, and he is their chief rather than their agent. Doubtless the moqaddem's power and authority, which make him a sort of military leader, facilitated the energetic attitude of defense that the Aït Cha^{c}ib kept with regard to their Mtougga enemies (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (Étude inédite sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished study on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

At Thinghir in the Todgha, the head of the assembly, named for one year and who takes the name of "amghar," is chosen by his predecessor. In the presence of all the warriors the new amghar in turn designates those who will assist him in the government: "I want So-and-So, son of So-and-So, of Such-and-Such family, to be with me in order to help me concerning the settlement of village disputes" (3).

3. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 126.

/226 cont./

*634 184 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 681 652 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 652 [651] Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional expenses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 652 178 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction. The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

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[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

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VI. The councils of fractions or of tribes without moqaddem. -- The ancient constitution of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the region of the Tichka and of the mountain Gedmiwa, always assumed the presence of the moqaddem. In our day, even in the regions remaining independent, this elected head has often been replaced by an "amghar," who keeps supreme power as long as he is strong enough to impose his authority on the rival families. But in the other mountainous regions of the South of Morocco, the public mind has remained more hostile to the appearance of personal power. One tribe of the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Aït Oua^c^zzoun, knows neither moqaddem nor amghar; likewise, most of the cantons of the Aït Waouzgit, before the conquest of the Glawa, had only a small senate and Aït Arba^c^in without a president. Finally, among the independent tribes of the western Anti-Atlas, small councils of notables -- six per fraction in general -- administer the "khoms," without having a designated leader. Sometimes there, it is true, an influential notable exercises, thanks to his energy, true authority; but by his feigned modesty in the councils he tries to avoid the appearance of command. In the assembly he is only one "anflous" amidst his brothers, and if people consent to give him the title of "moqaddem," he bears it without ostentation, carefully guarding against appearing to direct the deliberations, whose outcome he has dictated in advance in secret talks with his creatures (2).

2. The tribes of the foot of the western Anti-Atlas or of the irrigated oases of the plains /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ possessed, however, before the progress of the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, moqaddems similar to those of the Haut-Atlas -- at Tiznit and among the Ida ou Gersmouk, for example. The "^c^orf" of the Ida ou Gersmouk collected by M. Ben Daoud begins with the following proclamation: "Know

*634 /228 cont./

184 /footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is the base on which all the affairs of the tribe

[178] rest."

/229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the

[613] councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the

*634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to

619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the

other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that

184 the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou

[692] Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

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1. In these tribal councils the conditions under which the customary law is applied in case of murder let the laxity of the social institutions be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for example, the inflas friends of the murderer give back to his family the part of the fine that comes to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus
619 grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a cer-
692 tain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with
circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of
619 the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confedera-
692 tion of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun and the
184 Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a
178 minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun, for
example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arba^{c}in, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named delib-
[625] erate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1),

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1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arba^{c}in, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Aït Arba^{c}in of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmo^{c}a" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmo^{c}a" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ou^{c}azzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables
[695] and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are sum-
[681] moned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[695] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[681] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[792] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
[782] ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
616 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
701 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one.
726 Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in
1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger.
So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
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*634 648 [651] [431] passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids generally content themselves with claiming the traditional she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

> 1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 578 726 628 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

> 2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/232 cont./
*634 most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults,
578 then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst
726 forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war.
628 But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to
[571] form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples
[571] of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by making them an "^{c}ar" /putting them in the relationship of pro-
[782] tector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their house.

*634 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the
578 soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over
571 power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for
726 measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle im-
628 perils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the tribe will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabylia/ (2),
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2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 64.

[171] the surest means of restoring order in a canton divided against itself is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifem," the "Aït
Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not
murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place conse-
crated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants,
everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the
Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the
Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the
violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the
advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies:
"tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual
mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the
more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small
groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands
that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory
and ritualistic character (1).

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1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
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621 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
632 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
*634 nocturnal dances (2).
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2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/,
pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

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53 The spectacle [illegible]ese festivities is one of the most attractive in Berbère /B[illegible]er/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their
[361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the
glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep
for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
"taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
796 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
571 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The
616 great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
182 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of
619 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still
larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/236 cont./

000 Makhzen /makhzan/, has not been studied thus far among the sedentary peoples of Morocco under conditions that enable us to establish quite precise comparisons with the Sous and the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. At least here, by recalling what we know of the institutions of the tribes of the Central Atlas and of the north of Morocco, we can show how the same principles of political organization assert themselves everywhere with surprising uniformity.

In the qsour /fortified places/ of the Haut-Guir, whose internal life has not heretofore been made the subject of detailed monographs, we again find familiar rules in reading the compendiums of customary law (1).

Each family is represented in the bosom of the council by notables who, under the various names of "mzarig," "reffad," "oukkal," "hamil," correspond to the Aït Arbaᶜin and to the Inflas of the Moroccan South. They undertake first of all to impose upon their brothers the decisions of the council. A president, who takes the title of "sheik," is designated by these "mzarig"; we often see him take this office only if the notables agree with him, accept his intervention, and with him give up to the anger of God those who will refuse to execute the judgments that he will pronounce. Like the "moqaddem" of the Masmouda, the sheik of the Haut-Guir is in principle closely watched by the assembly. He must keep an exact accounting of expenses and receipts; he imposes fines according to the rule, and if he lightens the penalty without the authorization of the "reffad," he is punished in turn. He may not travel without the assent of the council, or leave the session in the course of the deliberations. His departure is accepted only if he has been duly replaced by a new sheik. Like the moqaddem, finally, he has power to collect fines, to ordain and prohibit, and,

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1. Nehlil, "Azrefs des tribus et Qsour du Haut-Guir /Azrefs of the tribes and Qsour of the Haut-Guir/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 77 and sqq.

/236 cont./

000 by reason of the higher functions entrusted to him by the council, the "ᶜorf" punishes with high fines those who threaten or contradict him. Sometimes there exists a superior sheik above the sheiks of the various qsour, who considers the presidents of the little cities as his "respondents."

Among the Jbala, the village "jemaᶜa," identical, it seems, with those of the "moudaᶜ" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, include all the men /237/ able to bear arms; these are not political assemblies, they administer only the common patrimony and watch to see that the good order of everyday life is not disturbed. As for the council of the "khoms," made up of two notables per village, presided over by a "sheik," it certainly appears to have all the attributes of our councils of "Aït Arbaᶜin" and of "inflas" of the fractions of the South of Morocco. When the entire tribe assembles, it does not constitute a council analogous to the one that represents the "khoms." This meeting, moreover, is held only in the most serious cases in order to decide war or peace, resistance to the Makhzen /makhzan/, revolt or submission; it resembles a mobilization of all the forces of the country more than a political consultation.

In the region of the Habt, the funds of the village "jemaᶜa" constitute important reserves administered in common, not only for the maintenance of the mosques as in the tribes of the South, but also for the purchase of munitions intended for war and the assistance of inhabitants reduced to poverty. This institution appears to have taken a development in the local life analogous to that of the agadirs among the populations of the Anti-Atlas and of the Sirwa. On the other hand, the management of this fund becomes, like that of the "taqbilt" treasury in the Haut-Atlas, the essential and permanent preoccupation of the assemblies of notables (1).

(1) M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 43-44, 174-178.

/237 cont./

000 Thus we see the Wadras tribe, rebelling against the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and coming back for several years to the former customs, name a sheik supervised by the notables; this sheik is particularly charged with administering the common treasury, enlarged by the fines, the taxes, and the revenue from the collective property. The notables, on the other hand, jealously keep their prerogatives for the administration of the pious establishments (2).

2. Biarnay, "Un cas de régression vers la coutume berbère chez une tribu arabisée /A case of regression toward the Berber custom in an Arabized tribe/, "Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 220.

When the tribes of the north of Taza succeed, in a period of revolt, in resuscitating for a time their former traditional organization, they adopt a political regime similar to that of the Moroccan South. Among the Branès (3),

3. Trenga, "Les Branès /The Branès/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the council of notables, /238/ designated by the "jemaᶜa," is charged with watching over the safety of the territory, good administration, and the execution of the decisions made in common. This council, known by the name of "Bou ᵓlarba," elects a moqaddem. The meetings of the "Bou ᵓlarba" are nearly always public; the men present may take part in the discussions, if they are known as people of good counsel, and sometimes their opinions are retained (1).

1. Analogous institutions would still be found among the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, established under the

/238 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ tent. Among the Izayan of Oulmès, each fraction possesses an amghar, president of the jem^{c}a, assisted by respondents, "Imasain," who represent each of the groupings and see to the execution of the orders given. The amghar has purely honorific functions; he collects fines and benefits from corvées to plow his lands (Abès, "Izayan d'Oulmès," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 270-271).

Among the Igerwan, Aït Ndir, Aït Mgild, it is the tribe and not the fraction that possesses a chief, the "amghar n touga." He is assisted by respondents responsible for all that goes on in each of the ikhs. The "amasai" of the "ikhs" puts at the head of each of the "douar" or "tigomma" of his "ikhs" another respondent who in turn designates "imasain" placed at the head of each "rif."

The "amghar n touga," "the chief by the handful of grass," merits this name because at the time of the election each one present throws a handful of grass on the one elected (Bruno, "Statut coutumier des Berbères Marocains /Customary Law of the Moroccan Berbers/," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 136). This term corresponds exactly with that of "chikh /sheik/ errbi^{c}a," by which are designated, among the Arab tribes of the Gharb, the war chiefs named to fight against the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the time of siba.

Let us put side by side the custom of throwing a handful of grass on the one elected and the practice noted in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 125) of putting a wisp of basil on the amghar's head in order to choose him and to point him out to the people. This custom appears to be common to the largest part of the seminomadic tribes of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, the central Atlas, and the Saghro.

/238 cont./

121 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of
631 political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live,
in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the
Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal
fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival
and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the
mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable
to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where
121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill,
361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units,
621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits
632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the
[619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of
households, and in trying to establish the list of the households
that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds
in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary
group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At
times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a
sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three
kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond
621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we
613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by
"tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of
persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa,"
division.

621 It seems that it might be permissible to give
613 the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni
614 Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous
114 and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the
Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political
unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according
[171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of
families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

/239 cont./

621 /footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation
613 sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and
614 Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11.
114 Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse
171 origins there. On the other hand, the bond of
blood exists among the households of the same
Riffian jemaᶜa.

621 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes
613 a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq"
heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and
respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers"
621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they
628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring
613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination,
726 which end only in the disappearance or exile of the
vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of
the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite
country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence
of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each
peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following
the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an
amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of
the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to
blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the
following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in
regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for
vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the
[722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women
and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having
sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a
murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under
[435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were
carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if
the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
gun in a thicket of lentiscus.
[435] It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the
"tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the
fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
which is respected for several months. This name is given to a
675 solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring
tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes,
large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several
thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The
"amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the
small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living
621 grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliberate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
621 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
613 and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary
[671] law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are
punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one
third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/240 cont./

628 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are never-
182 theless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions
642 /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by fam-
ilies infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians
to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in
628 turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries,
652 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate
721 for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings;
798 whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them,
the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of
182 money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim
at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or
Badès (1).

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

/241 cont./

000 overpopulation of a relatively fertile country, establish a great difference in the numerical importance of their forces. By the number of hearths that compose them, the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, like the "khoms" of the Igezzoulen, are placed halfway between the "taddart" and the "^{c}arch" of the Zwawa of Kabylie /Kabylia/. From this it naturally results that we find in the Atlas, mingled in the bosom of the council of the inflas and of the Aït Arba^{c}in, powers divided in the Djurjura between the "jema^{c}a" of the big villages and the assembly of the "^{c}arch."

The "jema^{c}a" of the Kabyle villages is, as one knows, directed by an /242/ amin, who designates or recognizes the "temman," the representatives of each of the large families of which the village is made up (1).

1. In Kabylie /Kabylia/ the name "kharrouba" is given to the patriarchal and agnatic family that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ call "ikhs."

With the "temman" are most often seated respected old men known for their sagacity, the "oqqal." The other warriors remain near the council, to which they belong by right, if not in fact. The assembly is held in public, and its decisions, which bear on all that interests local life in economic, civil, criminal matters, are immediately announced. But the democratic form of the constitution is more apparent than real: only the notables are entitled to speak and the general meetings often have as their purpose "to inform the people of a decision rather than to submit it to them"; the acts of the legislative "jema^{c}a" end up "as a promulgation rather than as a plebiscite" (2).

2. Masqueray, Formation des cités /Formation of cities/, p. 82; Hanoteau and Letourneux, Vol. II, p. 33.

The "inflas" and the "Aït Arba^{c}in" of the Moroccan South, representatives of each of the families of the "khoms" or the

/242 cont./

OOO "taqbilt," perhaps make up a more exclusive council with a composition determined better, an oligarchy more jealous of its rights than the assembly of the Kabyle "temman." But the differences are often purely formal, and besides here or there the spirit of the little constitutions of the "taqbilt" varies according to region and also perhaps according to epoch. However that may be, the "imeslain," the "ifqiren" of good augury and of good counsel of the south versant of the Atlas correspond exactly to the "oqqal" of the Djurjura; the amin has functions analogous to those of the moqàddem, and the only difference is that the first exercises his magistrature without a time limit whereas the second is named for one year. Again we see in certain villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/ the choice of the amin made by turn in each of the "kharrouba"; most often he is designated by consultation of the family heads and by mutual concessions; moreover, it is the same sometimes among the Masmouda in the valleys of the Tichka.

One can observe that the activity of the Kabyle village jema^{c}a is often greater than that of the Aït arba^{c}in in the cantons of the Moroccan Atlas; the development of a customary law remaining more alive, the greater density of the population doubtless suffice to explain the differences. But the "taqbilt" council of the Masmouda recovers its importance by directing, /243/ in conformity with the obligations of the alliances, the external policy of the country. It then becomes similar to what was formerly the council of the "^{c}arch," it too made up of two or three notables per village, which in individual meetings used to decide the destinies of the little Berbère /Berber/ state.

By its internal organization and its numerical strength, the Kabyle "^{c}arch" perhaps represents an effort of social synthesis superior to that of the "taqbilt" or of the "khoms" of the South of Morocco in the same way that the "taddart" is already more than a "mouda^{c}" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1).

1. Cf. above, Ch. II, p. 230.

/243 cont./

000 The formation of confederations directed by an amin, established above the "amin" of the "ᶜarch," as these latter were above the heads of villages, attests to a still higher degree of improvement of the political constitutions, although in the Djurjura these higher edifices never had the importance and stability of the elementary organisms.

In spite of these differences, which doubtless are related above all to the growth in volume of the simplest societies on a more fertile land, the same spirit animates the political constitutions of these two regions so far apart. Here, as there, it is the same internal life in the tribes and the fractions. A thousand traits mentioned by the observers of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ are found again among the Masmouda: the rich notables are the veritable masters of the canton or village, in spite of the democratic constitutions; their influence is exerted secretly on the moqaddem or the amin of modest circumstances whom they have had the cleverness to have accepted by the people. Adroit policies can refashion unity, when discord is dangerously prolonged, by secretly provoking an external war against the leff enemies. In these small republics, egalitarian in appearance, in reality often delivered over to the richest men, we see appearing in the Sous as in the Djurjura the taste for honors, the concern for ceremonial, while identical ambitions and passions agitate families and set them against one another.

A trait common to these village constitutions is that they suffice to absorb all the political activity of the men. Through them, a balance is naturally established among all the notables, thanks to the surveillance that they exercise upon one /244/ another with an anxious jealousy. The members of these little senates, thus obsessed by the concern for dividing equally among them the profits and expenses and foiling the threatening projects of the ambitious ones, cannot rise to the idea of the public good or conceive principles that would permit them to found true states.

Even when alliances succeed for a time in uniting several cantons for the safeguarding of their interests and the protection of

/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berberie /Barbary/.

/245/

Chapter V

The Republican Organization (continued); the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.
VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berberie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda^{c}," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

609 /245 cont./

574 I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high valleys
[344] of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the
[485] assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones
that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.
Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the
*[634] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there,
[162] they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of
inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for
609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of
571 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that
556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the
563 [672] latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which
the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage
[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.
609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the
641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the
563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where
the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner
can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in numbers
166 at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or
vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of
*634 origin, a consultation of the jemaʿa of the "inflas" is necessary in
563 order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and
their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge,
they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and
build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government
of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary
for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./
609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563 1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the
exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass
[619] into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its
own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he
has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to
which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/247 cont./

466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary
is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the
one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days
of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself
according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often
also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put
in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of
the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution
that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate,
levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

*634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and
[681] the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying
contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous
431 traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In
the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of harvests
[465] are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country
and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary
of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests
or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official
measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed
in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of
the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been
said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees
[171] the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the
legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

735 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as mem-
794 bers of the Mussulman community, but the community, for
431 them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and
171 they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the
hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole
Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jema^ca" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confedera-
171 tions have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the
plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

/249 cont./
423 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).
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1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" consti-
794 tuted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the
621 manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at
437 auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as
423 belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it
579 seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining
486 security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to
651 plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to
the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often
been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/249 cont./

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montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).

> 2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country. [182] [571] [578] [203] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. [554] [625] These then are the notables of the place, who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/250 cont./

443 Bouzia in the Haha tribe, the "Had" of the Aït Mzal in the Anti-Atlas, or still more often at the foot of the mountains, such as, for example, the markets of Amismiz and of Tisgin of the
443 Gedmiwa. Sometimes surrounded by a contiguous wall, these
366 markets possess several hundred shops formed out of alveoli of earth and dry stone, covered with branches, divided into quarters or "rahba." One finds in their enclosure cafés, which are often unpleasant places, sometimes permanent storehouses for storing commodities, always a mosque in which people go to
443 swear an oath if some dispute arises. These markets, frequented by all the tribes of the vicinity, sometimes at two days' distance, often gather together several thousand Berbères /Berbers/. It then becomes necessary to watch particularly to protect the transactions by special regulations.

443 It is a great disgrace for the inhabitants of a country not to
625 be able to repress energetically the thefts that might be com-
685 mitted in their souq /sook/ or on the roads leading to it; so all the little codes of customary law of the tribes of the South of Morocco are devoted to long paragraphs enumerating the considerable fines that punish the thieves and route cutters who would try to practice their trade at the market or its outskirts. Incessant surveillance is exercised by the tribal authorities, so that the guilty may be immediately apprehended and condemned. There is reason to fear, as a matter of fact, that there may break out at the market an altercation whose appearance could be the signal for a panic. Sometimes similar incidents are created on purpose by the thieves in order to "break up" the souq and to enable them, by means of the disorder, to pillage valuable merchandise.

For all these reasons, it is rare that an assembly of notables suffices to make the "horma," the good name of the market, respected. /251/ Certain tribes nevertheless succeed in protecting their souqs, and then reap large profits from them (1).

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1. Cf. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 128-134: the development of the market of Tinghir (Todgha) permits leasing the rights

/251 cont./

443 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers
625 and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury."
685 The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge
443 all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often,
634 even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions,
554 it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing
692 respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The
685 existence of the market thus favors the development of personal
power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader
best shows his prestige and worth.

443 It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas
*634 succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on
a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the
792 Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi
784 Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only
by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse,
would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as more-
[778] over in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most
venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi
Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi
Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou
Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great
fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar"
(2),

2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

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443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security
prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds
special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale
of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

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[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

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/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ourlaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

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In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

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For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

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1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

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/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

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V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

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Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

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2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

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/footnote 2 continued/ Ou Tanan; of casbah of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the kaid in the plain of the Sous and on the Dir of the Atlas. On the Saharan versant of the Anti-Atlas, it designates a small chamber for provisions placed in a corner tower of the house (Amanouz tribe). It is also used generally throughout the Sous with the meaning of solidly constructed wall.

The same word reappears as toponym in the western Rif in the form "Ajdir," near Alhucémas and in the north of the Gzennaya; one also finds Agadir, quarter of the town of Ouezzan, Agadir, quarter of Tlemcen (Marçais, Les Monuments de Tlemcen /The Monuments of Tlemcen/, p. 132); in Kabylie /Kabylia/ it signifies rock, sheer wall, inaccessible spot (Huyghe, Dict. Kabyle-fr. /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, 2nd ed., p. 17). The word appears to be of Punic origin (Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, I, 319).

Among the Aït Waouzgit, the Souktana of the Sous, the Glawa, the collective storehouse takes the name of igherm (pl. igherman); "tighremt" (pl. tighermatin) is a fortified house. "Igherm" designates in the western Atlas (Aghbar) a cultivated terrace supported by a dry-stone wall, and among the Haha a low dry-stone wall to protect the riflemen in combat. /The following paragraph is on the next page in the original source./

Finally, among most of the transhumant Berbère /Berber/ populations of central Morocco, the name of Ighrem is given to the permanent habitation, to the house serving as storehouse for provisions and as enclosure for the large livestock.

343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior
with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto
which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each
[417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape
and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one
room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway
even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to
run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the
collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially
for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays
open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one
of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for
there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet
[712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households,
it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often
the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new
storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it
seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined
and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends
to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to
keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs
184 in which a whole "moudaᶜ" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes
[632] to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much
[621] alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the
*[634] Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain
Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these
343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the
712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions
184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they
are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner
towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy
to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the
mosque, the storehouse of the jemaᶜa, that of the marabouts,
/255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for
the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

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343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always
remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[619] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often
*[634] arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which
open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).
Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest
doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters
high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicola-
[625] tions ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors
from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^{c}" or each ham-
let; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the
Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a
country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in
the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine
(2).

[171] 1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

[127] 2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

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343 /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psy-
712 chology of the council of the chiefs of the
184 agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us
[127] to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this
translation.

343 So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of
712 its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the
182 number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door;
[443] special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of
[463] notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" --
[571] "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the
[625] maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organiza-
tion becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated
343 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties
712 of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the
182 most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the
671 Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of
571 "louh," small board, [illegible] given, doubtless because they were orig-
inally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted,
571 like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the
554 most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its
authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

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343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but
they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside.
The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
[578] exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one
another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum-
683 stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the
common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of
these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that
fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in
them by the people for the administration of their property." As
for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for
judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an
agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this
fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of
right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of
the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give
to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or
call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay
large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indis-
554 pensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the ma-
terial life of the users depends each day on the administration of
the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of
the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, al-
most unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circum-
stances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a deci-
sion by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

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343 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the
571 "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the
554 chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do
with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only
683 childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses
the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of
the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress
571 itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a
554 meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collec-
[574] tion of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They
[671] claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the
common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of
murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions,
[434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that
[681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a
[652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus con-
[556] stitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who ex-
[471] ploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe.
On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride
in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

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343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^c," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

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/footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

> "To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

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But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

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In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Maᶜcho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

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In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

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343 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to
178 villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that
184 were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no
361 longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

> 2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel A^{c}ouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela^{c}id).
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> [113] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instruc-
> [175] tions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVI^{e} siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," *Hespéris*, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more
712 numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/
184 can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indica-
178 tions of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/
tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of
[722] the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless
(648) numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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343 As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the
712 inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also
*634 provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute nat-
726 ural centers of resistance against the domination of the great
chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it
[631] to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nine-
[175] teenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose
*[631] conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still rep-
resented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead; it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of
712 fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last
712 years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact,
178 the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate
726 consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of ham-
lets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

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343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

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1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

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343 712 178 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 712 174 178 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

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1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 178 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.-- Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

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121 178 we shall see there without difficulty the state of ruin of the institutions that we have described.

178 *634 171 Until the middle of the last century, the small independent states remained nearly intact among the mountain tribes of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. But in this "Kabylie" /Kabylia/ of the Masmouda, the little social units were less strong and vigorous than the ones of the Djurjura. Under the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/, as we have said (2), their cadres yielded little by little; even in the high valleys of the Tichka, the oligarchic organization is struck everywhere in our day by a decline that might seem definitive.

178 *634 In the greater part of the country, except in the most remote cantons, even in the vicinity of the summits of the Seksawa, even the memory of the moqaddems has often disappeared; people still know who the Aït Arbaᶜin were, who at each siba revived the former institutions, but the agadirs, the porte-bonheur "inflas," the policy of leffs are definitely part of the past. This disappearance [648] was precipitated by the establishment of the Protectorate and by the economic transformation that has been taking place for 20 years, since the opening of Morocco to European commerce. 178 The ancient traditions no longer find usefulness in the new life. The old men no doubt still recall to one another the time when /263/ the rivalries of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" were the subject of heated discussions in the low rooms of the sequestered hamlets of the mountains, where one went to bed in the evening on a carpet of dry grass by the light of twigs of resinous wood. But the young people, who were raised in recent times with "sugar, candles, cotton cloth," know nothing of the life of the past. Likewise, the songs and the dances of the "Aït Tskawin," with the silver horn, are in their eyes no more than a survival, an amusement to which backward montagnards devote themselves and whose importance only the old ones understand.

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2. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. I, p. 176.

/263 cont./

178 184 *[631] More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs, and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly existed.

178 179 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long centuries of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the conditions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are disappearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the political action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness. New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal organization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Berbère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

/264 cont./

178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with
which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout,
712 it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its
crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and
gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters
of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/
crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse
of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by
their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and
whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few
months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of
a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed
to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to
this proud house.

178 At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the
361 summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the
*[631] solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their
dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the
[342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above
[712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests
the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective
fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while
the little senate, the "Aït ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte,
deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours'
361 march southward, the valley of the Aït Atman, a surprising
spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one
343 of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of
712 its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar
to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege,
[726] the Aït Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled
warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in
361 the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose
343 ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows.
712 Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecognizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this
[726] old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

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Book III

The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

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First Chapter

The Rise of Personal Power; the Amghar, Canton Chief

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. -- VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 642 661 I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- To divide equitably the benefits of power among the family heads, and in order to succeed at it, to exercise an anxious surveillance over the ambitious ones, such is the constant concern that dominates the whole internal policy of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics. But whatever the vigilance of the councils of notables, one always sees men appear in whom the taste for honors, money, or power makes them find the cadre in which tradition intends to enclose them too narrow. In all the tribes, even where oligarchic or democratic institutions are most completely accepted, chiefs rise for a time above the assemblies, seize authority, and try, in taking the title of amghar, to found by violence what de Foucauld rightly called despotic power.

Most often the results of these attempts are ephemeral. The regime of tyranny inaugurated by the amghar does not survive him, and immediately after his death the reaction of the small oligarchies or the masses carries away his work. At other times, too, local circumstances are favorable for the 642 *634 178

/269 cont./
642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for
two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas"
weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop;
the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich
and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A
little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality
not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers
soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also
transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a
canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in
various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of
government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of
the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great
kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their
domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in
the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political
pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft,
and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious,
without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they
substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have
destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

/270 cont./

121 of tiring the reader's patience, it is necessary to draw his atten-
*634 tion often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure can-
[669] tons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them
with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaids. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

*634 II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the
578 amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of
613 the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we
have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek sup-
[571] port. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at
least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Aït Arbaᶜin" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

/271 cont./

*634 578 613 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of amghar (1).

1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 671 681 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones [652] into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

/272 cont./

*634 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement
681 thus established there are substituted for the names of all the
178 notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the
same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is
perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third
to these influential men, who give themselves the title of
"ᶜayan" (1),
[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving
inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name
671 of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a
178 personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So."
Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables,
the "ᶜayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master
[681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a
[651] third of the ᶜachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/
[794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the
[735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was
[465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and
661 patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the
578 amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the
most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has
613 succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or
726 making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable,
equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with
all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged
furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his
people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

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1. Arabic "ᶜayân," notables.

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these combats
661 the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Seksawa
in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had succeeded
in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the warriors
of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
the lesson: when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/274 cont./

175 *634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 556 661 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The always difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly ameliorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 556 434 661 [681] But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] [681] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts received at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar
661 by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained
/275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire
in his own canton.

Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[651] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[486] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the
Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself --
at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the
"taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be
found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects
and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat,
the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single
chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar everywhere
in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
661 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to receive
721 guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
571 augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to
seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and
the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the
support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the
service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts
in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles,
he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its
defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/275 cont./
121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the
beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the
rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80
years will make us understand better what help the opposition
of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
616 of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the
kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel
Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the
valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of
the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the
entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two
parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard"
of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium
between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar
who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the
notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between
the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
*634 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
616 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
726 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished
in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the
Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the
cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command
of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was
commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten,
Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arba^{c}in"
*634 of his "mouda^c." He was a simple man without ambition, who was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
*634 family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
616 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
726 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./
175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
616 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his can-
726 ton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly
attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./

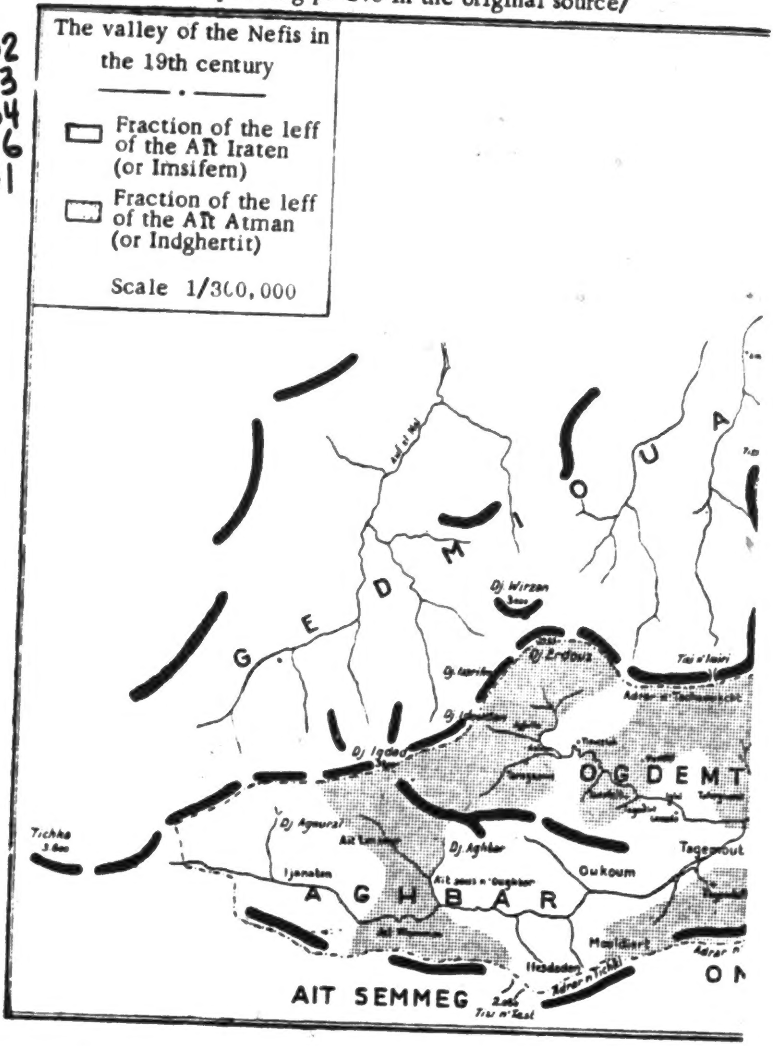
175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem
Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after
having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son
of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also
obtained from the Aït Arbaᶜin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness,
his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of
the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
616 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command,
726 espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi;
the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors
from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit,"
wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the
Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused
struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/
the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït
ᶜAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the
Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the
mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried
on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances.
Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to
the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part,
Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to
him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain
fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support.
For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from
the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
133
*634
616
131


The valley of the Nefis in the 19th century
▭ Fraction of the leff of the Aït Iraten (or Imsifern)
▨ Fraction of the leff of the Aït Atman (or Indghertit)
Scale 1/300,000
G E D M I O U A
Dj. Wirzan
Dj. Erdouz
Tizi n'Imiri
Adrar n'Tachouchkt
Dj. Igdet
O G D E M T
Tichka
Dj. Agouraï
Aït Lahsen
Dj. Aghbar
Ijanaten
A G H B A R
Aït Semmeg
Oukoum
Tagemout
Aït Semmeg
Tizi n'Test
Adrar n'Tichki
O N

/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
131
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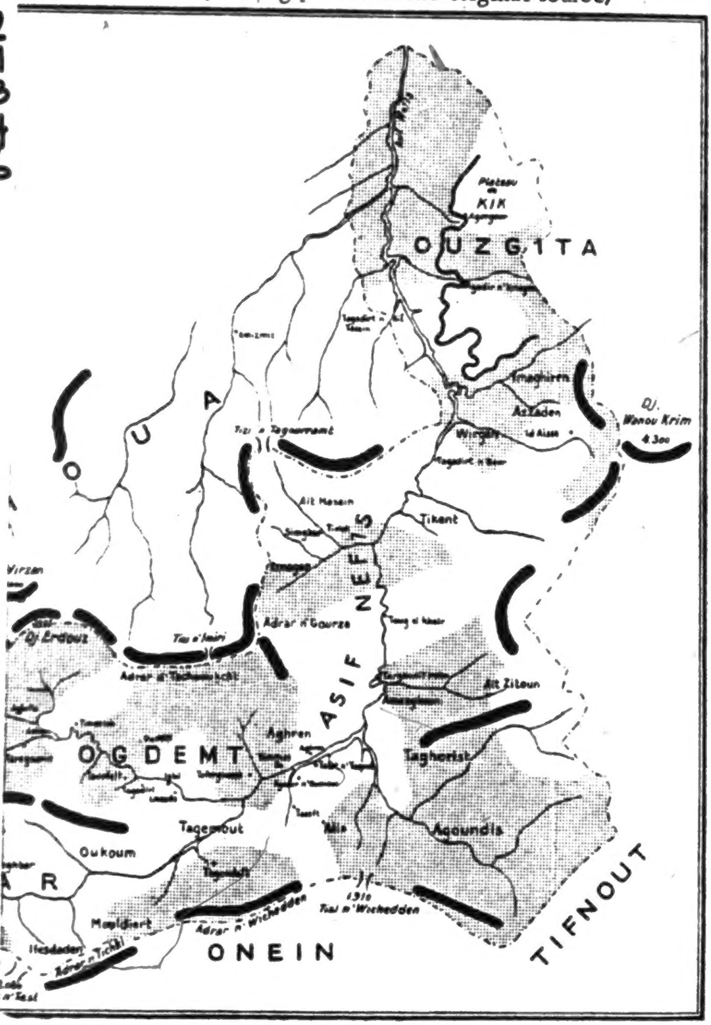
616


Plateau
KIK
OUZGITA
Imaghiren
Azaden
Dj. Wanou Krim
4.300
Wirgan
Id Aissa
Tagadirt n Bour
Tizi n Tagourramt
O
U
A
Ait Hasein
Tikent
Virzan
Dj Erdouz
Tizi n'Imiri
Adrar n'Gourza
Adrar n'Tachemmekht
ASIF NEFIS
Ait Zitoun
Aghren
OGDEMT
Taghorist
Tagemout
Aqoundis
Oukoum
R
A
Taghekht
1910
Tizi n'Wicheddèn
Adrar n'Wicheddèn
Maqildiert
Hesdaden
Adrar n'Tichkt
ONEIN
TIFNOUT

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).

*634

616

726

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1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idma that two families of amghars have kept power without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains, in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

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[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/280 cont./
175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

175 Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Aït Bazzi and
159 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
*634 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
616 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
726 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/281 cont./
175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
616 but still at present one sees the Aït arbaᶜin come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who
have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose
178 is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the
"taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the Aït arbaᶜin among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and Aït Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/281 cont./

*634 642 178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

616 /282 cont./
*634 institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already
642 disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it
178 suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff,
[177] without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic
power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

*634 One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's
178 power for an original feature in the organization of his command
that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

*634 We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some
625 war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a
kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices
[613] for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with
difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

*634 We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison.
697 This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,
671

/283 cont./
*634 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taq-
697 bilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile,
671 and a fine.

*634 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the
regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they re-
616 main mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of
182 political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate
from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that
they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the
bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the
reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the
616 establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of
726 external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the
course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of
the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870,
the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the
leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when
they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy,
the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before
the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than
100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been re-
duced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were
then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which
were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of soli-
darity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the
"taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single
family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction
[682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi,
chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his
[628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the
blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid
the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of
the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/284 cont./
*634 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy
616 leff; thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of
726 the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among them-
178 selves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to
[651] the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules
*634 of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit
616

/285 cont./

*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

/286 cont./

175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remote-
*634 ness and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa,
had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
[648] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of
[712] the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distinguished himself. For a long time already, at the head of his "ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the hamlets of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries, and his name began to be known at a great distance and his protection respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
*634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of
648 power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the "Imsifern." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/287 cont./

175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
*634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at
Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two
traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben ᶜAli was
exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar ᶜAli Ou Hammo of the
*631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
Taroudant, is no less suggestive.

*634 Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the
double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons were governed by councils of Aït arbaᶜin and moqaddems, while at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs, intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found
[177] themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaids or subject
to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20
years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have
escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves
175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were im-
*634 mediately utilized by a young chief without scruples. ᶜAli Ou
Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15
years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913,
the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer
in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors,
by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in increasing his resources and forming a party for himself. In our day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him, ᶜAli Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arbaᶜin and the moqaddems,

/288 cont./

175 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had *634 to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/ [177] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ^{c}Ali had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ^{c}Ali Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it [171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the [184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

/288 cont./
*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of
the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, *Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
[648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ʿAli, the three tribes of the Ida
ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
*634 political regimes. The Aït Ou ʿAzzoun, directed in our day by
619 their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the
middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz,
178 who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still
have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the
Aït arbaʿin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the
domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and
in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son
of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the
effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external
influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
*634 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
619 a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal
families, then more important personages who form a kind of
senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to
*634 whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
[613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder
and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere,
one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of
an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions
[554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

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/289 cont./

*634 This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other
613 notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All
682 his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or
of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for,
[697] like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of
the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near
him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes,
like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, he
seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled
into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut
*634 dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his
613 domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we
see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi,
form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton,
thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions.
616 But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of
cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw ad-
[578] vantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained
from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

/290 cont./

*634 actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts neces-
[616] sary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When
[178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once; the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of
[726] the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true,
[642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most
642 of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

/291 cont./

*634 642 notable charged with representing his brothers. The tribal council even deliberates sometimes in public; but the decision has been prepared in the amghar's house and the tribe conforms to it exactly. The distribution of the profits of justice, of which the notables collect no more than a very small part, shows that all authority is concentrated in the hands of Bou Naga.

*634 *631 [642] But even in this case the concern for preserving the appearance of an assembly, whose presence itself is obligatory when the entire confederation reunites with Sidi Brahim Ou ^{c}Ali or at the souq /sook/ el Arba^c of Imouzzer, suffices to show how, in spite of everything, personal power here remains limited by the recollection of the fundamental institutions of the country of the Ida Ou Tanan. If, by a marvel of continuity, the minor amghars of the Aït Tinkert have been able, thanks to family alliances, to the existence of a very powerful clan, to succeed in obtaining and keeping the command of the whole tribe for a century, they have at any rate remained locked within the natural cadre /292/ that this third of the great confederation formed. Even so, they are still subordinate to what the independent Berbères /Berbers/ call jokingly the "Makhzen of Sidi Brahim Ou ^{c}Ali." Thus, in spite of their power, they remain, like the leff-chief amghars of the Seksawa, subject to the laws of the tribes (1). [619] [671]

1. For some years, the progress of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has manifested itself among the Ida Ou Tanan by a new development of personal power, thanks to the encouragement and external support given to the boldest clan chiefs. ^{c}Ali Ou Naser, amghar of the Aït Wanoukrim, Bihi ^{c}Achao of Isk n Tghazout, and other party chiefs have subjugated by force the chiefs of the neighboring "afous." The artificial character of this movement has undoubtedly further accentuated the latent antagonism between the regime of the Aït arba^{c}in and that of the independent amghars.

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*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ^{c}Aït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

S *631 423 571 578 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establishment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the S [121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organization and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-Atlas may present.

R 634 631 171 XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Morocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of personal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen /makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very R [616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton republican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states, the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R 634 631 614 578 Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that sometimes led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years. The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/293 cont./
634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapable
631 of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few
weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed
warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars,
is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge
from this anarchy.

In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
792 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live
578 side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear,
shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they
form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate conflicts.
[648] At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan
is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these
populations ~~and the~~ caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts
are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know
how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of
letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees
them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable
branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia,
zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over
all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization
of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation
of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el
Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen,
the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa
among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with
their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among
the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ᶜAlam,
the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent
years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/294 cont./

634 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free
792 political life of the mountain populations, and even when a
182 family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and
becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the
619 nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-
Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in
648 the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of
the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The
[614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs
of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

/295 cont./
619 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the
648 one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were fol-
175 lowed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by
726 the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from
[648] 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted
[616] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country
from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret.
[634] It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and
grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of
the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the
tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in
[171] their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance;
they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradi-
tion of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the
[171] moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-
Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by
[681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all
[434] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons
[614] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from
among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by
[581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such
that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the
neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march,
in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their
adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of
the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his
enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 At the time of the great movement for a holy war against
721 Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian con-
tingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of
634 Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions
648 from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the
[669] command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the
surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/296 cont./
175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and
Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
554 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
182 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it
578 exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who
created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ᶜAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in estab-
lishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/297 cont./

000 the opposite party. If he succeeds in making this conquest, in which his influence and cleverness have more importance than his warlike spirit, he becomes the head of the "ᶜarch" and the equal of the minor amghars of the Sous. Nevertheless, it is very rare for the Kabyle amghar to succeed, thanks to successful wars, to protection cleverly given and expenditures liberally granted in order to increase his prestige, to the command of a "qebila," of a true tribe. This is because the organic division of the whole Djurjura village into two soffs, whose alliances extend far, to within the "ᶜarch" of the neighboring tribes, creates an often insurmountable resistance to the new leader. The presence of an amghar promoted to supreme command is a weakness here rather than a strength, because he remains enslaved to the tyrannical alliance of his soff; in no village will he be accepted without reserve, and the confederated "ᶜarch" placed under his authority will risk being paralyzed by internal dissensions when they have to give battle to external enemies. One will understand without difficulty that here again the maraboutic power, screened by a fortunate privilege from the struggle of the soffs, can then grow important and assert itself more easily than that of the temporal chiefs (1).

1. Comp. A. Bemard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 93 and sqq., on the appearance of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes.

/298/ Besides, it might be that in the past the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura had institutions more favorable to the development of the power of temporal chiefs.

In a country so attached to republican institutions, the establishment of large commands, like that of the family of the ᶜAbd es Semed in the fourteenth century, that of the kings of Kouko in the sixteenth century, at the time of the French conquest can perhaps be explained more easily if we accept the

/298 cont./

000 hypothesis of a situation formerly less anarchic, of a fractioning into territorial leffs made up of fractions or small tribes -- which would then have formed a political chessboard analogous to the one of the Atlas of the Masmouda (1).

1. Masqueray, Formation des Cités /Formation of Cities/, p. 117 and sqq.

However that may be, in Kabylie /Kabylia/, as in the north of Morocco, two causes come to limit narrowly the undertakings of the amghars: one, of internal order, is the extension of private wars, the furious struggle of the great families, which dissociates the tribes and cantons; the other is the ambition of the marabouts, of the religious leaders who utilize the credulity of the Berbères /Berbers/ and whose role, moreover, is to maintain a profitable anarchy, thanks to which they play their role of natural arbitrators.

It happens that in our time, in the south of Morocco, the independent mountain republics have succeeded in avoiding the development of anarchy in the country and in maintaining the institution of the leffs. At the same time the maraboutic principalities, powerful in the Sous until the seventeenth century, have almost entirely disappeared, and the religious influences are no longer exerted except from the depths of the zaouias lost on the edge of the Sahara; those are circumstances favorable to the development of the power of temporal chiefs, so we see the amghars utilize them in the western Atlas and rise little by little to the command of veritable states.

Whether the situation of the country comes to favor their ambitions or to reduce them promptly to nothingness, the temporal leaders consequently appear in all the regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ under identical conditions. Many ambitious men desire to obtain power in the thousands of little independent mountain republics. Only a small number succeed in conquering and /299/ dominating; rarer still are the ones who will succeed in commanding a tribe and who will finally place themselves in a lasting way above the mass of subjects. The road is long and hard by which

/299 cont./

000 the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

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Chapter II

The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

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The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

/300 cont./
*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, ~~he~~ sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house. In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "Aït Iraten" in order to conquer the "Aït Atman" of the val-
616 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
726 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n Aït Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "Aït Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

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1. Cf. above, p. 367.

/301 cont./

175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "Aït
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.

*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "Aït Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "Aït Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "Aït Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the Aït Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "Aït Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "Aït Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "Aït Iraten" and "Aït Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./
175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observing
159 events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in
648 pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "Aït Atman," was in flight among the Aït Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n Aït Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n Aït Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "Aït Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and constructing
*634 casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El
[726] Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "Aït Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult every-
[343] where, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provisions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

175 /303 cont./
159 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddâr. They
*634 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "Aït Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the Aït Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Aït
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).

578
616

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "Aït Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Aït Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

175 /304 cont./
159 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
of kaid.

*631 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marra-
726 kech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./
175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the Aït Waouzgit and the Glawa descended
*634 toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

726 Before the arrival of this formida[illegible] harka, the amghar Mohammed
had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat
[727] n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he
had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents
were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when,
from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there
was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the
Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What
exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already
famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an
ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being
a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was
doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the
amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet,
the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of
the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by
ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat
at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and
brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut
up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled
and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "Aït
Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "Aït
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their
throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the
captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back
after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived
[616] in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the
marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[729] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the
Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on
the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable
strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marra-
*631 kech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of
the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

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[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
*634 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
726 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the de-
616 signs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/307 cont./
175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge
of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/
where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the
work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the
Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
*634 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
[625] his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
[602] changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do
not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep.
He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the
lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
*634 incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
616 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
578 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled
circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coalition
159 of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassinated.
578 The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him
by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in
seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches
to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he
himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo.
For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later
he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.
The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's
fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house,
which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
159 the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his territory
*634 and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
631 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence
578 he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
726 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more
616 to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances
in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to
neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si
Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of
his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident
"Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he
finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he
annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the
"Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

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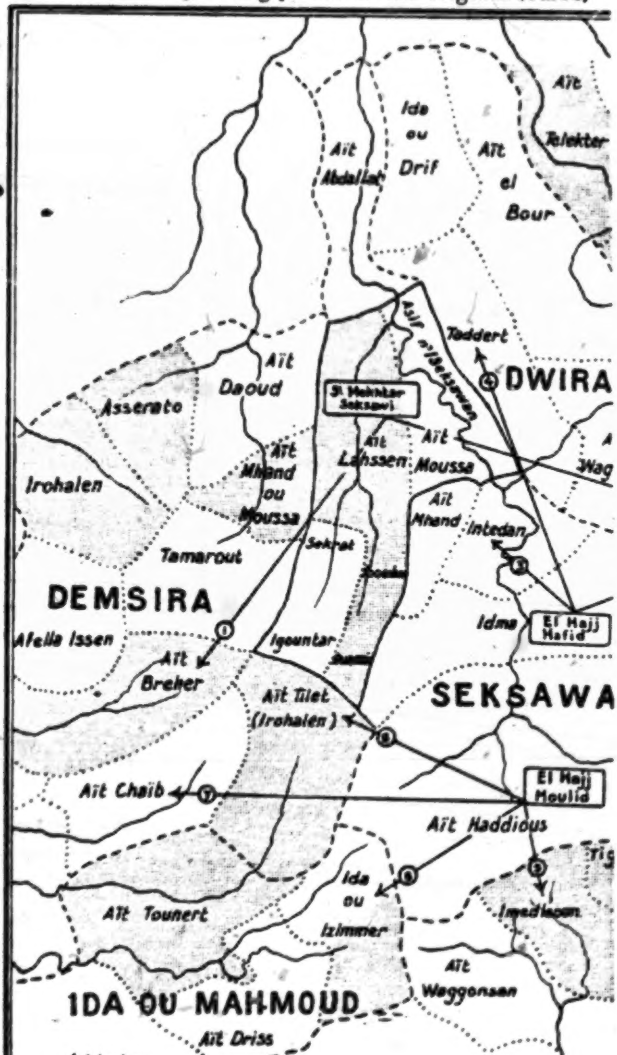
Ait
Talekter
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Ait
Daoud
St. Mokhtar Seksawi
Asserato
Ait
Lahssen
Ait
Moussa
Wag
Ait
Mhand
ou
Moussa
Irohalen
Ait
Mhand
Intedan
Sekrat
Tamarout
③
DEMSIRA
①
Idma
El Hajj Hafid
Afella Issen
Igountar
Ait
Breher
Ait Tilet
(Irohalen)
SEKSAWA
Ait Chaib
⑦
El Hajj Moulid
Ait Haddious
Tig
Ida
ou
Izimmer
⑤
Imedlaoen
Ait Tounert
Ait
Waggonsen
IDA OU MAHMOUD
Ait Driss
Ichkajen

2: Montagne--407 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

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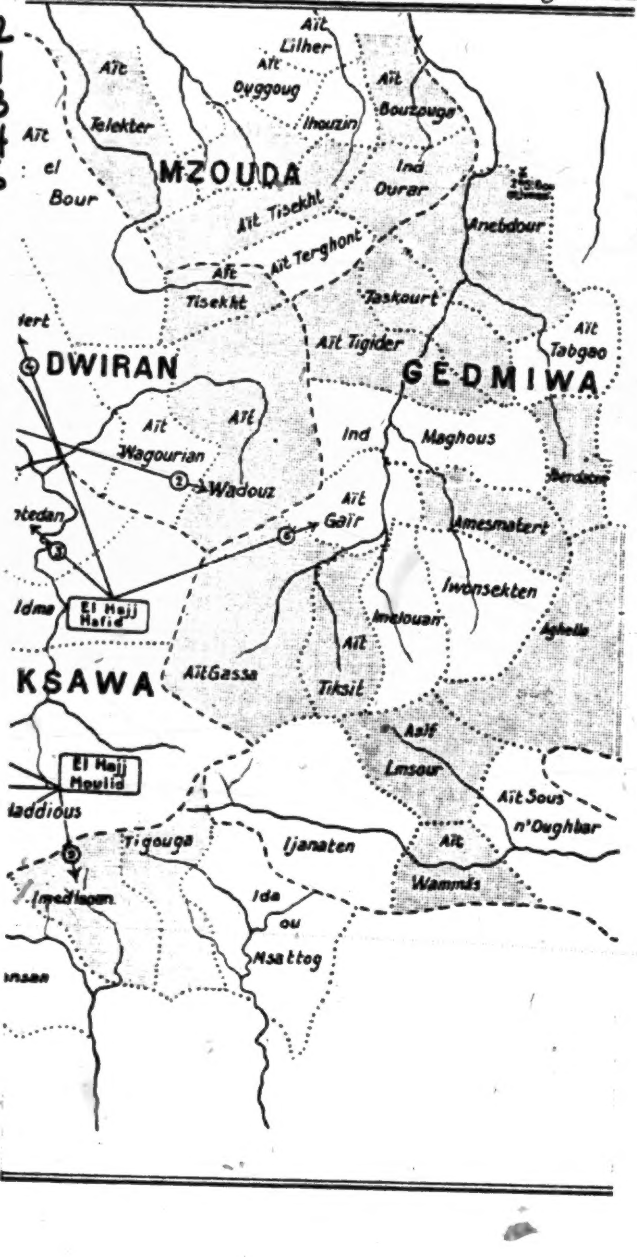
Aït Lilher
Aït Oyggoug
Aït Telekter
Ihouzin
Aït Bouzouga
Aït el Bour
MZOUDA
Ind Ourar
Aït Tisekht
Aït Terghont
Anebdour
Aït Tisekht
Taskourt
Aït Tabgao
Aït Tigider
GEDMIWA
DWIRAN
Aït Wagourian
Aït
Ind
Maghous
Berdacne
② Wadouz
Aït Gaïr
Amesmatert
Iwonsekten
③
Idma
El Hajj Hafid
Imelouan
Aït Tiksit
Aghella
KSAWA
AïtGassa
Aslf Lmsour
El Hajj Moulid
Aït Sous n'Oughbar
laddious
⑤
Tigouga
Ijanaten
Aït Wammds
Imedlaoun
Ida ou Msattog

/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

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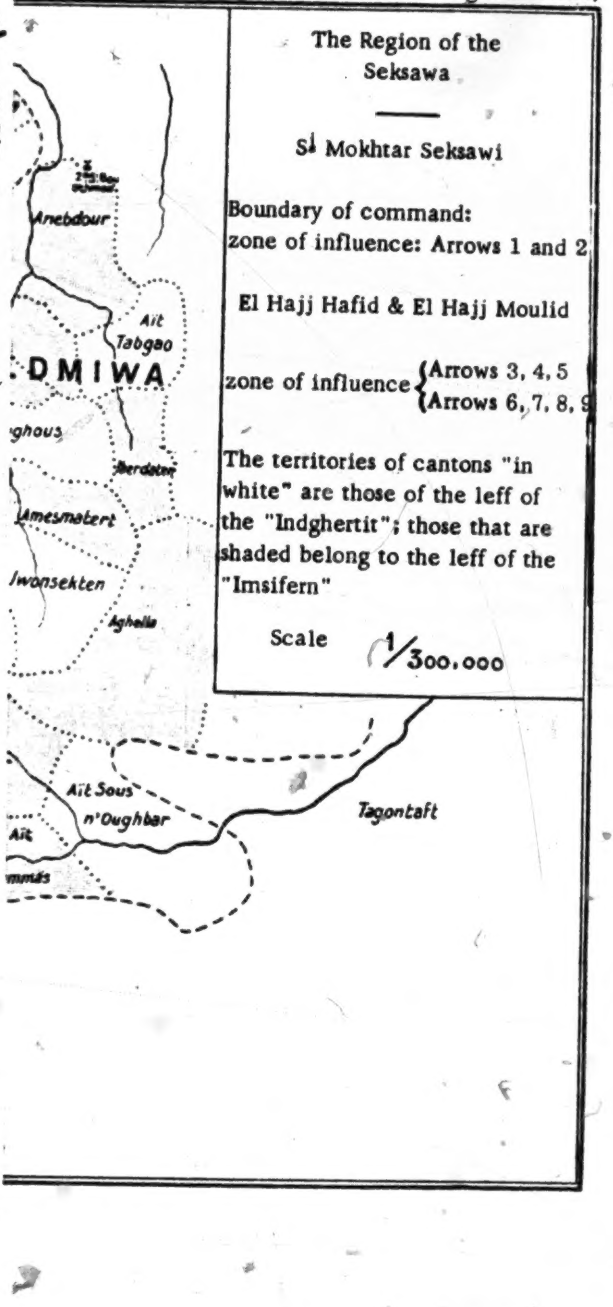

The Region of the Seksawa

Si Mokhtar Seksawi

Boundary of command:
zone of influence: Arrows 1 and 2

El Hajj Hafid & El Hajj Moulid

zone of influence {Arrows 3, 4, 5 / Arrows 6, 7, 8, 9

The territories of cantons "in white" are those of the leff of the "Indghertit"; those that are shaded belong to the leff of the "Imsifern"

Scale 1/300.000

Anebdour
Ait Tabgao
DMIWA
ghous
Iberdaten
Amesmatert
Iwonsekten
Aghella
Ait Sous n'Oughbar
Tagontaft
Ait
mmas

/309 cont./

175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds
616 first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

/310 cont./
*634 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aït
616 Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains, and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

175 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aït Haddiyous
*634 formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqad-
616 dems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars
726 of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combativeness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

*[631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aït el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen,
Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political relations
233 with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone
enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the
last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
[431] "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

175 /312 cont./
*634 their wishes to him" (1).

159

554 1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important
[178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction
of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals
to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little
plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./
*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
[648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
*[631] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century. It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
159 Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "ta.bilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

[712] By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touz-
*634 zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
726 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
*631 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
159 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that followed
726 this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then
assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat
and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/
repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain
"Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained legendary.
159 According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombardment
[648] of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the
summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general confusion.
[776] At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been
providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali,"
in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back
to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden
under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar
took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the
searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf,"
which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house
of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touzzalti
159 had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and support
*634 Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
726 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
616 Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom.
[648] After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared
they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the
amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress,
the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./
175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him.
Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert
tried to regain their independence with the support of the
Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his
[648] heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not
suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
*634 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore
him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsi-
fern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they
pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off
the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As
long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in
the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support
of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way suc-
ceeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose
all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon
to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command. *[634] [616] [648] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then
constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the "Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the "Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very
[178] moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his
turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the
648 Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
*634 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
175 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa,
616 relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons
of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/317 cont./

*634 remains constrained to enter the service of the great kaid nearby
*631 or of the caliphates of the Sultan; this was done by El Hajj Hafid
648 of the Idma and by the heads of the family of the Aït Bacha of Taberbourt, in the tribe of the Aït /318/'Semmeg, who went into the service of the Gontafi; and the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont, who rallied to the pasha of Taroudant, to the Mtouggi, and to the Gontafi (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 371.

*634 For the amghar to succeed in freeing himself and fully using
616 his liberty, he must, on the contrary, succeed in dominating at the same time the two leffs of the mountains, whether he incorporates the enemy cantons into his command by main strength or whether his independent attitude toward the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the parts of the country remaining mistresses of their fate makes him the defender of liberty. Moreover, he often attains this goal only imperfectly, whatever may be the energy or cleverness displayed. Sometimes the amghar stays bound, in spite of his efforts, to his first alliances; his domination is exercised successfully, thanks to his strength, on the fractions of the adverse leff, but it lacks solidity and disappears as soon as he weakens; soon no more than his own leff, diminished by defeats or political mistakes, remains to him; such was the situation of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, at Adasil of the Ind Maghous, and of his successors named kaids by the Sultan. But other chiefs, such as El Hajj Moulid of the Aït Haddiyous, develop easily in the midst of political divisions for which they become the arbitrators. Nevertheless their resources still remain insufficient to permit them to escape all the traditional rules. The strongest, like Si Mokhtar Seksawi and the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, are the ones who take over the fractions of the enemy leff, after having killed the hostile amghars and confiscating their property; they put the inhabitants to flight and build their houses in these lands of conquest, which become what we have sometimes called their "fiefs." By these means they acquire possession of

/318 cont./

*634 616 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are, finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 554 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his personal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 342 712 178 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construction of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 697 178 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indicates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 152 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers, provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high [648] rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./
*634 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
152 blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
648 origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does
not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance, he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
*[631] the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
616 ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
178 ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
*634 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
*631 n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
178 observed in the Tifnout (1); then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

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1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

/320 cont./
*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the op-
*631 posed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the mas-
178 ters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an important role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the
182 country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

*631 /321 cont./
121 trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will
182 carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs
[651] of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from
[486] travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them.
[485] It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

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It is true that the possession of a major route of communication, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley, obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain, give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

/322 cont./

*631 121 182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 554 [778] X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/323 cont./

*634 554 leaders coming from the tribes, thanks to the war of soffs and of leffs, with the king-priests of the Orient or even with the king-sorcerers of Black Africa.

*634 554 178 791 Has it always been so? The amghar, when he becomes absolute master of an independent tribe in our day, is very close to deserving the name "agellid." In other times, in the same regions, chiefs have not feared to claim this title when the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was on the decline or they felt themselves strong enough (1).

1. Cf. Book I, Ch. III, pp. 87, 100.

Now, popular tales, even history, sometimes seem to give out that these Berbère /Berber/ kings formerly could have a claim other than their strength to the respect of their subjects: magicians as much as warriors, they would then have been the legitimate successors of the agrarian kings, as the tribal inflas can be such of the porte-bonheur (2).

(113) 2. Laoust, Manuel de berbère marocain /Manual of Moroccan Berber/, Paris, 1921, p. 252. Sidi Saïd, legend of the Sous: "They say that there was a king (Jew) who was a magician." The kings of the Ghomara and of the Berghouata have been magicians and false prophets. On the agrarian kings: Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, p. 315.

But in our day the thread of that tradition has been broken twice and the era of magic royalty is doubly finished; first of all, the Sultan took the name of agellid for himself in Berbère /Berber/ country, and the other chiefs, kaids, sheiks, amghars, appear to the tribes as actual or possible agents of the sovereign, intent on making the ancient traditions disappear and above all occupied with collecting the tax and the "frida"; the happy time

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
175 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
791 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
792 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
554 zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of
the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif
of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa;
his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of
Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives
him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to
make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively
pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and every-
body gives to him" (1).

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of
Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition.
Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they pre-
served strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

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[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

175 791 /324 cont./
792 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
554 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
[224] warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these marabouts
[681] were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and
the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious
and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands
cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed
from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.
178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
648 deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many independent
amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*[634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan
Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the
autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen
/makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/
and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor
the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
648 one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal
leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having
reached the degree of development that we have just studied,
the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu
out of which he came: he feels attracted to the Makhzen
/makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends,
much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the
people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/325 cont./

*634 648 178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

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000 /326/

Chapter III

The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

/326 cont./
121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of
their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they
preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so
that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the
entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great
chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
128 which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
175 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
*631 retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs.
Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay
el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their
tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly
to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.
175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the
conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the
[648] vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the
whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment
when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's
victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight
jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to
obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/,
and compete in order to make their candidates win the
supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve
the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment;
they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects
the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their
relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or
their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the
policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/327 cont./

175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally
master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

/328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but
[648] uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
175 Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*631 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
*634 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
159 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
616 extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an
amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the
726 montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

/328 cont./

175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aït Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
616 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in
726 secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by
night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he
came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the
North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the valley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar
*634 Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

/329 cont./

175 In the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
*634 the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the
Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra
in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords,
who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain
/Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese
of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above,
p. 115.

[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt
trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took
back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority
that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed
of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa
"khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also
called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Aït
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

The favor of the
175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader,
[648] charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of
the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*631 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
*634 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
616 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Ac-
578 tually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the
[648] struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated
by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben [illegible]i, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ʿAmer.
*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of
578 origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*631 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
*634 enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his
[712] family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

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1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
ᶜAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
175 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
159 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
(1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
*631 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
578 of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/332 cont./

175 established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals,
*631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa,
578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
*631 the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
726 reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi even suc-
[669] ceeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and
named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal,
supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally fortune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ᶜOmar (1) of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

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1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait Sᶜadoun, El Hajj ᶜAddi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ᶜOmar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesaᶜoud, died about 1890, finally ᶜAbd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ᶜAddi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

/333 cont./

175 *631 726 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the Haha. After the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of agreeing with one another (1878).

175 *631 648 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so intolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard, and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 *631 About 1890, young ᶜAbd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the kaid Mesaᶜoud, brother of El Hajj ᶜOmar. As soon as he took command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neighbor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his advantage. By cunning provocations ᶜAbd el Malek caused a revolt to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed, son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for them.

175 *631 648 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of the young kaids of the Atlas, Si ᶜAbd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi, Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes. But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

/334 cont./

175 *631 648 anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaids and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1);

> 1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaids increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaids, the amghars, and the independent republics.

121 *631 In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaids of the Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

/334 cont./

121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great
kaids.

175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
*631 in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
/335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs
understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad, "Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat, thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first be-
*631 gins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
*634 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
726 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received
648 from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around
the amghar ʿAli n Aït Haddo of the Aït Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./

175 *631 *634 726 [648] Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his prestige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen; Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his casbah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innumerable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage. The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen [913] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is overtaken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa (1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable circumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the [669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas revolted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/336 cont./

175 often assembled expeditions against the amghar of Tagontaft.
*631 The Gontafi establishes one of his relatives in the casbah of
*634 Agergour, and for 30 years, except during the time of the supremacy
726 of the Glawa, he will firmly maintain this conquest.
In 1897, after long preparations, Si Tayeb undertakes to subdue the tribes of the south of Tagontaft; two high valleys of the Gedmiwa, the Ogdemt and the Aghbar near Talat n Yaqoub and Tagontaft, are won, then the harka of the Gontafi descends toward the Aït Semmeg, the Onein, and the Ihouziyoun, breaking the resistance of the tribes whenever it manifests itself. A revolt of the Aghbar in which the independent "taqbilt" of the Seksawa
[669] and from south of the Tichka participate stops the distant expeditions
for a time; then Si Tayeb departs again for the Sous and among the Inda ou Zal engages the Aït Semmeg of the South and the Souktana, while relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." A serious defeat stops him at the Aït Mimoun, among /337/ the Souktana; wounded in combat, he goes back to his mountain fortress and henceforth contents himself with organizing his conquests (1902).

175 ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, like the Gontafi, has utilized the
*631 "siba" to put himself in the place of the minor chiefs of the Dir
726 of the north of the Atlas. He intervenes among the Mzouda, the
[669] Frouga and establishes himself at Amismiz, in the place left
vacant by the kaïd in flight. The confederation of the Gedmiwa is then divided between the two neighboring great kaids: the plain and the Dir revert to ᶜAbd el Malek, and Si Tayeb appropriates the mountains. Inversely from the other two great kaids -- the Glawi and the Gontafi -- who are leaving on expeditions toward the south, the Mtouggi reserves all his efforts for the tribes of the Marrakech plain, and although possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and Mesgina guarantees him access to the Sous plain, he hesitates to get involved there. This is because a dangerous rival is growing in importance on his flanks in the person of the kaid Saᶜid of the Ida Ou Gelloul, at the center of the Haha country. A favorite of the vizier Ba Hmad, the "Gellouli" even obtains at that moment command of the plain of the Chtouka and of Tiznit.

/337 cont./

175 *631 726 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa, Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

175 *631 726 648 V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. 175 *631 726 [669] [712] Having come back to their mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 *631 578 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue. But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./
175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd
el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the
minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek
Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi ṅ Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi, chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Marrakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the "Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
*631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of col-
648 lecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he
amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his elevated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marrakech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz. His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/.

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With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter ᶜAbd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

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Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani, followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute ᶜAbd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only ᶜAbd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

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VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/ the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

/340 cont./

175 The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^{c}, the
*631 Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^{c},
648 Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa,
619 Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the
region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal,
Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1). The constant concern of ^{c}Abd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Aït Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, the Ihouzioun, but

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*[634] 1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

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175 *631 648 619 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa, where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remaining at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/ formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 *631 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 *631 712 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

/341 cont./
175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards
surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can
be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several
months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby
spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the
/342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder,
the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be
closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with
guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two
leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one
another without any preconceived plan, according to the necessities
[595] of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his
more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient
guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a territory
[574] always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply,
most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid
nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly,
a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in
which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his
wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes
too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of
a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle
of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of
the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with
larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the
favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war
again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid
ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be
erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished,
but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/342 cont./
175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is
necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future
the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of
the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes,
as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collect-
ing the taxes and commanding in his name. All these construc-
[466] tions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the
[333] Aït Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth --
to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement
weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men.
It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds
for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a
country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses
with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of
peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
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1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the administration
*634 of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jemaᶜa
of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It
613 is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the
beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of
the little state that he has created. He has found among them
first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis,
charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submission.
*631 When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
693 This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secretary,
[648] will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Ber-
[671] bère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous
past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the
disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible
justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances
the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself,
seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the
petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate
and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close
advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides
with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, storehouse,
712 and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The innumerable
[574] guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay
sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic *bouwab*, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
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*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great
chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new
resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when
villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The
retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the
importance of the domains and of the command increases, the
intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests
and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives
no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes
in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands
is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in
[681] bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[571] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating
[557] with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of
the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by
every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the
kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of
the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
652 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
178 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the
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*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
661 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
602 Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
443 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
563 annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[543] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
[655] chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/347 cont./

*631 *634 554 Whatever may be the faithfulness of the co-operation given the kaid by his original fraction, and although he may be surrounded by numerous companions, the organization of the command remains very imperfect, and the various functions are very poorly defined. It is the kaid himself who very often superintends the distribution of the food and fodder, just as in war he thinks he is filling his role by giving cartridges to the combatants with his own hand in order to avoid excessive expense. The everyday supplies of sugar, tea, and candles, coveted by the women and slaves, are the object of special surveillance, and the bunch of keys to the storehouses where these precious commodities are locked up scarcely leaves the neck of the great kaid, master of 20 mountain tribes. Not long ago one saw Si el Madani Glawi in a corner of the courtyard of his casbah, separated from the crowd of servants and protected by a wooden grating from an ever possible evil blow, spending long hours receiving news, dictating messages, presiding over the distribution of food, and making sure with a glance through the bars that the slaves were really giving his favorite horse and mule their daily ration of barley.

*631 *634 557 595 X. The transformation of the customs. -- The political and economic revolution brought into the mountains by this new regime is completed by a no less important transformation of the family organization. In this country of strict monogamy the victorious amghar at first began to consolidate his political situation by numerous matrimonial alliances contracted with the families of minor makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs in the valley or the still-independent amghars of the high mountains. Having become kaid, possessor of sizable lands and several residences, he augments at the same time the number of his wives, whom he chooses from among the prettiest girls in the country. It is not without regret sometimes that a peasant /348/ gives his daughter to the lord; but that alliance is most often worth exemptions from taxes for him and effective protection against the mokhaznis and the caliphates. Among the chiefs, political alliances by marriage are constant, and each reconciliation is marked by a new union. The innumerable daughters of the family are exchanged like presents.

/348 cont./
*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
*631 turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
*634 and the governed increases more and more, and one would
178 imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to
bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
619 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still
178 be observed in the more distant territories that have been succes-
sively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

In the short period during which the large commands were
[175] constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the
efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits
from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one
blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through
the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties
of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed
may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance
met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is
identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they
can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes.
Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the es-
tablishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in
the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*631 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
*634 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
616 had preserved their Aït arba^{c}in and their small senates. In the
178 valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
[578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the
amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*631 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
*634 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
726 all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses
of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaᶜan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaᶜin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaᶜin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
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/351 cont./
175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay
as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive contributions,
*631 is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
*634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time
of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that results
[166] from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a
large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/352 cont./

*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 *634 619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi,

/353 cont./
175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nfifa and placed under the
authority of an autochthonous kaid, ʿAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ʿOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaʿoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saʿid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ʿAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
726 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain
trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaʿoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ʿAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ʿOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ʿOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ʿAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

175 /354 cont./
*631 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*634 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
726 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies
taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission;
nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby
cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At
the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes
the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik
Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
*631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
651 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Boua-
178 boud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own
chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no
advantage a piece of land from which they get their living.
Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being
effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar
Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal
and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi:
Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 *634 178 616 726

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obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accepting only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.

The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. [671] The customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

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XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] [642] [175] [669]

The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nineteenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transformation
[175] of the tribes.

[642] The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to
[669] enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
*631 we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

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/footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

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XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 398.

multiply; the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

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It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

/357 cont./

178 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from
616 the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends.
Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the
[578] former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rival-
*[634] ries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the
*[631] struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named
[648] by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the
*631 whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs
*634 of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the At-
*631 las really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who
178 preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

/358 cont./

*631 178 come -- in less than 50 years of governing -- to precipitate, in the state that they have conquered, the ruin of the whole traditional organization of the populations, without substituting any other law for it but that of their will, any other goal but that of their wealth.

*631 174 171 It is not surprising that well before the novel of the "lords of the Atlas" was written European travelers, in the course of rapid tours in the south of Morocco, let themselves be deceived by appearances and tried to make bold comparisons between our Western feudality and this personal power established by the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs in the bosom of the tribes. The aspect of [712] the casbahs, built less than two generations ago but so quickly clothed with the patina of time, the picturesque and animated [648] life of the inner courtyards of the fortresses, the relative freedom enjoyed by the great kaids with regard to the Sultan could indeed give some verisimilitude to this historic transposition.

[648] Certainly it was not impossible, by putting some good will into it, to multiply analogies; the kaid who was semi-independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ not long ago exercised his power in circumstances that could sometimes be compared with those of the count of the /359/ Frankish monarchy, and certain practices even seemed to be identical with the most classic institutions of our feudality. Are not the "amici," the "gasindi," who surround the count represented by the "imeddoukal," the "asahab" of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, those companions who stay in his house and among whom we have seen a natural hierarchy established according to their origins and the services rendered to the master? The amghar or the kaid, by substituting himself for the old council of the inflas formerly in charge of dividing among themselves the fines imposed on the guilty, collects the blood price as did the count in former times, the "freda" /sic/, as well as all the other settlements; that is what makes manifest their possession of the right of justice. Here, as there, doubtless in humbler forms, patronage develops, the "commendatio," in a social milieu where the weak can be saved only by abandoning to the stronger a part of his liberty, of his goods, and of his labor. The

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*631 acquisition -- so rapid, it is true -- of immense properties by the
174 Berbère /Berber/ chiefs, on which they establish hundreds of
171 slaves in a few years or preserve the former masters of the land who in appearance have become similar to serfs, can again suggest another comparison. Is this not the image of the domains of the Merovingian epoch upon which, by slow evolution, the lords of the upper Middle Ages could grow in importance? A replica of the very certificate of immunity can be found in the letters of fictive command awarded by certain chiefs, the Mtouggi, for example, to the companions who have served him faithfully, so that they can escape, with all the members of their family, from the common rules of justice or of taxes (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 451.

*631 Finally, we observe here, as in the West, the development
565 of an aristocratic class, if it is permissible to use this expression
174 in speaking of the parvenu sons of the amghars, and the ruin of the lower classes is precipitated at the same time that public
171 authority is weakened: those are, as has long been said, the general conditions for the appearance of a feudality (2).

[113] 2. Compare Fustel de Coulanges: Origines du système féodal /Origins of the Feudal System/, p. 294 and sqq., p. 415; L'alleu et le domaine rural /The Alodium and the Rural Domain/, pp. 374-382.

Nevertheless it would be imprudent to rest content with these similitudes:

*631 /360/ One barbarism always resembles another barbarism,
174 said Doutté in describing the aspect of the South of Morocco, and it is not enough that "a chief live in a castle, have pages, and
171 hunt with falcons," that peasants prostrate themselves upon his passing or that he administer justice on the threshold of his

/360 cont./

*631 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).
174
171 1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the
174 social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country
171 of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no
171 way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on
423 the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves
[567] on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves,
bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the
[566] villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands
without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the
*634 kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have
174 been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power
and the importance of the small states that they have conquered;
171 masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus
determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his
peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus
175 the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar
Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
726 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the
175 middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a
command fortress.

These features suffice to show us how the power of the
*631 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
*634 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
174 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself;
171 the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king
or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. *631 175 648 One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

/363 cont./

*631 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to
175 the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the
648 Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

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Chapter IV

Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

121 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/
178 mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/365 cont./

121 178 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 648 We shall now see the central government intervene in a more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 648 177 178 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habitudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is henceforth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

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000 all in order to constitute a permanent reserve of money, of arms and munitions, of victuals, and of provisions of all kinds, assembled in large chambers in the shelter of the ramparts. Behind these walls that surround the casbahs of the towns are sheltered, in all parts of the Empire, the Sultan's forces ready to intervene against rebels (1).

1. The term makhzen /makhzan/ is very ancient. The Almoravides, the Almohades already knew it and vulgarized the usage of it in all North Africa. One notes the name of Bab el Makhzen at Marrakech in the beginning of the twelfth century. *Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade* /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/. El Beidaq, p. 58.

But it is not especially the material organization that characterizes the supreme power in the eyes of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes, it is the presence of a king, of an "agellid," despotic sovereign who for centuries derives his authority from his sherifian origin.

The "agellid," in the poor oral literature of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco, is most often described in the most naïve aspects, and always surrounded by the halo of wealth, of "baraka," or sometimes even of magic power. In addition, people in the tribes do not imagine in any precise manner the conditions in which a ruler can live in the depths of his palaces of the Gharb or Marrakech, where he leads an existence so remote from that of the poor peasants of the Atlas. Moreover, when he appears to the eyes of the montagnards who have descended into the plains for a moment or when /367/ he is seen amidst his army on an expedition to the confines of the Empire, he is surrounded with a luxury that grandly strikes the senses. The outward signs of respect that are shown him are no less imposing, especially when he rides on horseback in the shade of the parasol (*mdell*), which is the true badge of royalty in all of Morocco (1).

1. There is no sultan without a parasol, and when Sidi ᶜAli, grandson of Sidi Ahmed ou

000 /367 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Mousa, had himself proclaimed in the Sous in the seventeenth century, he was careful not to forget the traditional "mdell" that his descendants, driven out by Moulay Rechid, carried along in their flight to the confines of the Sahara.

At the end of the nineteenth century when Moulay el Hasan led his second victorious expedition as far as the Tazerwalt, he received from the son of Sidi Hachem in homage and as evidence of his definitive submission the precious sunshade under which the "agellid" of the Sous had formerly been sheltered.

By his origin and power the Sultan is truly, even for the most independent montagnards, a man above the common people and in a class apart. In the reign of good sultans, everybody knows that the harvests are abundant and livestock-breeding prospers. As has been seen in the course of the nineteenth century in several circumstances, even when he has been defeated and his troops put to flight, his person most often remains sacred (2).

2. Moulay Sliman, put to rout among the Aït Oumalou, the Beni Mgild, scoffed at the Cherradi Zaouia and in the course of the revolt of the Oudayas is not personally molested, but, on the contrary, received with consideration, while all his companions are killed or robbed and stripped bare ("Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, IX, p. 193, and X, 52, 82, 145). Compare the reception given to the shorfa in the tribes of the North of Morocco, considered as porte-bonheur, but excluded from political life (Le Glay, La Mort du Rogui /The Death of the Rogui [rogui, one who aspires to overthrow the sultan] /, pp. 24-25, 186, 199).

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Finally, there is another aspect of the sultan's power that the Berbères /Berbers/ fear; each knows the terrible effectiveness of his curse. The sherifian "sokhta" pronounced against a tribe is similar to the excommunication of the Middle Ages. It authorizes first of all general pillage of the goods of the ones cursed, for all the nearby tribes strong enough to do it. Moreover, it makes the land infertile and produces famine. One saw this clearly after the destruction of Mogador, which earned for the Haha, guilty of pillaging the town, six years of famine and tribulations without number, the memory of which has been preserved throughout the land (3).

3. Compare Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," Archives Marocaines, XVII, pp. 36-37.

It is the sultan's sherifian origin that furnishes him this dangerous power; even if he were the son of a black or Circassian slave, or of a Christian captive, as has very often happened in the course of history, he keeps all his prestige because of his paternal ancestors.

/368/ Whatever may be the deep impression produced on the Berbères /Berbers/ by the sherifian court, the sultan of Morocco in the nineteenth century does not live in the midst of a court used to a refined etiquette as is seen in the States of the East. The organization of the State and of the central power is extremely rudimentary, and the caprices of the sovereign most often take the place of government rules. A vizier, a "hajib," a sort of director of the palace, some secretaries with poorly defined occupations, and above all numerous "ashab" or companions often fill, by the chance of the master's favor, the various domestic or political functions; that is all the personnel who can intervene in the course of the life of the tribes. Whenever an important affair requires traveling by an envoy of the sultan, it suffices to designate one of the "msakhrin," especially charged

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000 with executing commissions on behalf of the master. The "msakhrin" are recruited both from among the Arabs of the "gich" /gish/, the slaves, and also sometimes from among the sons of the tribal kaids, whose interests hold them at the sherifian court. For two centuries it has especially been the "gich," constituted by the mass of the Arab tribes settled around the towns, that forms the group of families from which most of the court functionaries are chosen (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, IX, p. 239.

Besides, the essential utility of the "gich" is to furnish the sultan, in all circumstances, a mass of combatants, most often mounted, necessary for each of the police expeditions or the protection of the trips of the ruler.

II. The sherifian army. -- It is known that in most of the wars waged on their territory the sultans of the last two dynasties almost never assembled a very large number of warriors. The great battle of El Mkhazen in 1578 had been waged by the Saadians with 5,000 men from the gich of the Haouz of Marrakech and 10,000 Berbères /Berbers/ from the Sous. In the eighteenth century, 10,000 to 12,000 men sufficed for Moulay ᶜAbdallah in most cases (2).

2. Lévi-Provençal, Historiens des Chorfa /Historians of the Shorfa/, p. 175; Chénier, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 251.

Moulay el Hasan himself usually contented himself with 25,000 guns, counting the tribal contingents raised for the occasion (3).

3. Erckman, Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 298.

It was only during the last expeditions at the end of the nineteenth

/368 cont./

000 century -- that of the Sous, for example -- that one /369/ saw a larger number of warriors brought together, assembled and provisioned at the price of the greatest difficulties, however.

The small number of the effective forces engaged in all circumstances in internal expeditions is easily explained by the character of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, the absence of united coalitions, and the difficulty of transport and provisioning in regions without roads and often difficult.

Nevertheless, in order to make their authority respected, the sultans were constrained to organize their military forces either by depending on the tribes of the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/, after the example of the Almohades, or by utilizing the services of deported and transplanted Arab or Berbère tribes, or else, finally, by specially constituting a black army reserved for the exclusive disposal of the Makhzen /makhzan/. One or the other of the formulas prevailed according to the period; palace revolts, uprisings of pretenders supported by one of these three forces, the insufficiency of the Treasury's resources obliged the sultans to change their military policy and seek the services of those who appeared, according to the circumstances, least dangerous.

Strong power, like that of Moulay Isma^cil, could utilize a powerful black army without too much trouble. It is known that in this sultan's reign numerous casbahs were constructed throughout the Empire, and we find traces of most of them at the foot of the Atlas along the trail of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and in the very plain of the Sous (1). They received a permanent detachment of slaves from the Makhzen /makhzan/. These blacks, whose number climbed to nearly 100,000, collected taxes, lived on the proceeds of the tithe paid in kind in these fortresses, and made relative security prevail on the

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1. Tahanout, Amismiz, Kasba Amejjout (Imi n Tanout), Qehira, Tizi Ma^{c}cho in the Dir or in the mountains; Khandeq el Wed, Bou Riqi, and Chichawa in the plains.

/369 cont./
000 routes of the Empire (2).

2. "Istiqsa," Archives marocaines, IX, p. 262.

But the difficulties created for the Makhzen by these mercenaries were eventually such that the sultan Moulay ʿAbdallah had the greatest number of them put to death as soon as he could; his son Sidi Mohammed at one time wanted to try to reassemble them, but the emptiness of the treasury and revolts also obliged him to disperse them (3).

3. Chénier, Recherches historiques /Historical Investigations/, Vol. III, pp. 424, 437, 488, 489; "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, pp. 313-332.

/370/ In former times the Almohades and Mérinides had been able to attract into their capitals Christian mercenaries as well as Turkish renegades and Persians. The support that they gave to the ruler was all the more loyal because they were without strong ties in the country (1).

1. Cf. concerning the Almohade "Ghozz" of Egyptian origin, El Marrakchi /Histoire des Almohades/, Fagnan trans., p. 251, and concerning the "Djond," ibid., p. 298. Concerning the Christian troops, P. de Cenival, "L'Église chrétienne de Marrakech /The Christian Church of Marrakech/," Hespéris, 1927, pp. 73-83.

But after Morocco closed itself to the West and feared Turkish influence, these elements disappeared. The Saadian or Filalian sultans were then most often constrained to call on Arab tribes, whose devotion was less certain and who many times caused the fall of those who used them.

/370 cont./

000 In the history of the South the most important Arab groups who intervened in the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/ are the Oulad Motᶜa under the Saadians, dispersed, however, by Ahmed el Mansour, at present neighbors of the Gedmiwa; the Menabha, settled both to the west of Marrakech and to the east of Taroudant; the Chebbanat, instruments of the fall of the last of the Saadians and deported in various directions; finally the Chararda, made up of various elements, Zirara, Chebbanat, Oulad Dlim, Tekna, Ida ou Blal, whose last uprisings near Marrakech disturbed the reigns of Moulay Sliman and Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (2).

2. [illegible]iqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. [illegible]. 86.

These "gich" tribes, forming a kind of military colony distributed around Marrakech, were exempt from the tax and owned their lands by permanent or precarious title. Moreover, they received monthly subsidies, but in all circumstances had to furnish contingents raised by a simple notice from the sultan's representative, who was settled in the casbah of the capital of the South with the title of pasha. Organized into "thousands," "hundreds," or smaller fractions, commanded by military kaids, they took part in all the expeditions necessitated by the re-establishment of order and the recovering of taxes. These Arabs' ties of alliance with their Maᶜqil brothers of the Sahara were not without importance for governing the country. Besides, since the sultans repeatedly chose wives among these Arab tribes, their descendants could in numerous circumstances find useful support among their uncles of the desert. The sultan Moulay /371/ ᶜAbdallah, driven from power several times by rebelling blacks, proved the benefit of this alliance, consistent with the most ancient principles of the Semitic tradition (1).

1. Georges Marçais, Arabes en Berbérie /Arabs in Barbary/, p. 706.

*631
648 In the same way, the chiefs of the Atlas, among the Haha and the Mtougga, could sometimes, thanks to family unions, call on the

/371 cont./

*631 648 co-operation of the Howara or of the Arab fractions integrated into the Berbère /Berber/ confederation of the Chtouka, and bring the intervention of the Arab tribes into the quarrels of the Berbère tribes of the mountains.

We have mentioned elsewhere the role played by the Arab kaids of the tribes settled to the east of Marrakech in governing the tribes of the South: Rehamna and Segharna were often, until the reign of Moulay el Hasan, in charge of ensuring, on behalf of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the collection of the taxes and carrying out the police circuits on the Saharan versant of the Atlas and in the Dadès and the Haut-Dra (2).

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2. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Book III, Ch. III.

648 619 On the whole, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes proved to be more obstinate about entering the sultan's service in a body. True, we have seen them give all their support to the Saadian shorfa in the Sous at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was only in their capacity as "moujahidin," enemies of the Portuguese, that these shorfa could appeal to the independent tribes of the Anti-Atlas. As soon as their power had taken on the air of royalty and they began to follow the constant rules of the Makhzen in their government, the Berbère /Berber/ contingents of the Anti-Atlas scattered, and the Saadians, doubtless against their will, had to call on the turbulent Arab tribes of the plain of the Haouz. In the same way the Masmouda ranged themselves for a time at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the maraboutic domination of Abou Zakaria, grandson of Sidi Saīd Ou ʿAbd en Naīm, but also abandoned him when he tried to take supreme power in Marrakech.

Among the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the South only the Haha seem to have contributed, especially during the nineteenth century, toward extending and strengthening the sultan's

/371 cont./

648 domination in the Sous plain and over the Dir of the Anti-Atlas
619 (3).

3. It may be that the Skoura, the Mesgita, and the Aït Seddrat, totally or partially Arabized at present, however, formerly played in the Haut-Dra a role analogous to that of the Haha. These tribes are considered in the country as having had former relations with the Makhzen /makhzan/.

648 /372/ Finally, in most of its military expeditions the Makhzen used at all times, in addition to the "gich" and "ᶜabid," numerous contingents raised on the spot while passing through the subject tribes. This occasional military service, known in the country by the name of "naiba," was rendered especially by the Haha and the populations of the plains.

000 The organization of sherifian troops on the march has often been described; it is known that a representative of the sultan, generally chosen from among his relatives, is the supreme chief of the "mehalla" and is assisted by a kaid who holds all military authority.

When the sultan himself leads the column, he carries in his train, on the backs of mules, the gold ingots that constitute his treasury, as well as his archives and his most valuable possessions. He might indeed fear that a revolt would strip him of them if he left them behind in one of the towns of his Empire (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 274; Cour, Établissement des Chorfa /Establishment of the Shorfa/, pp. 5 and 92.

III. "The tax circuits." -- The principal use of the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to permit proceeding at any time to collect the tax. It is certainly by that function that the central

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000 government is best known to the Berbères /Berbers/, and the "harka" or the "mehalla" of the sultan generally interferes with the tribes only to fill up the emptiness of the Treasury.

It is known that the tax problem is one of the most serious that the Mussulman State has to solve. Religious law has carefully fixed the nature of the various contributions. The "zekkat" and the "ᶜachour" are the only legal taxes that can be demanded of Mussulman tribes. The "kharaj," land tax on the conquered lands, has always been regarded as an exaction by the Berbères /Berbers/, who claim to have embraced Islam voluntarily (2).

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2. Van den Berg, Principes de droit musulman /Principles of Mussulman Law/, pp. 243-244; Doutté, "Les causes de la chute d'un sultan /The Causes of a Sultan's Downfall/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1909, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 222.

The very destination of the contributions has been arranged by the commentators, so that the sultan has the greatest difficulties in providing maintenance for his army, which has no resources other than part of the booty taken from the enemy and the taxes imposed on Jews and Christians. Barely to be pointed out are the little Kharejite /Kharijite/ states, which succeeded in adapting to these imperative rules by /373/ preserving a rough life comparable to that of the ancient times of the Prophet.

For two centuries the establishment of market rights (meks), toll charges at river crossings or at the entrance to the towns, supplementary taxes on fabrics and precious objects have been the subject of impassioned discussions by jurists, who have always criticized these illegal contributions, excusable only because of the harshness of the times and the impoverishment of the sherifian

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600 treasury (1).

1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 279, Vol. X, pp. 97-98.

Chénier was already pointing out, in the reign of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah, the ruinous state of the empire's finances and the constant depreciation of the currency. The opening of Morocco to European commerce precipitated, in the course of the nineteenth century, a financial crisis that has been one of the most active causes of the collapse of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (2).

2. The consequences of this situation made themselves felt in a manner particularly painful for the populations of the Sous.

This aspect of the organization of the State had particular importance for the life of the tribes: in all circumstances and especially for three generations the sultan had to require of the subject tribes not only the zekkat and the ᶜachour, but also extraordinary impositions limited only by the strength of the resistance that the populations of the "bled makhzen" could offer. The usual intermediaries, kaids and sheiks, for their part, further increased the value and the number of these "frida." The half-subdued tribes contented themselves with paying their quota at the time of the quite regular passage of the sherifian "mehalla." Furthermore they estimated the sum they had to pay by taking into account the distance separating their territory from the itinerary followed by the sultan's forces. If revolts, weakness of power, or some other cause suspended the collection of the taxes for a few years, they were totaled up on the following circuit, which was then carried out with considerable forces in order to obtain the maximum of the sums claimed by the Treasury.

The execution of these tax circuits, which permitted supporting the great of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the "gich" tribes, was followed according to rules well known by the tribes.

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000 Local resistance was overcome either by the effective occupation of villages, pillage, destruction of houses, search for silos, and the /374/ capture of flocks, or by exciting the zeal of the nearby tribes, enemies of the refractory groups and who were thus interested in the profitable collection of the taxes. In all circumstances, the taking of hostages facilitated the definitive settlement of disputes, and the passage of the "mehalla" to a neighboring tribe was obtained after submission and mutual concessions over the sums claimed and offered.

In the subjugated tribes we find settled in the vicinity of the houses of chiefs small groups of Jews who in an indirect manner contribute toward facilitating the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Mixed up in the recovering of the taxes, because they are always ready to advance, sometimes with the money of the kaid himself, the sums claimed from the peasants in the sultan's name, these Jews have played a role, obscure but sometimes important, in the internal life of the tribes. Grouped especially at the foot of the Atlas, at the point where at the same time political action is exercised and where economic transactions multiply, they are often the index of the recent penetration of the Makhzen (1).

1. Other Jews' quarters exist, sometimes in the high mountains in the Atlas (Tifnout, Glawa), but especially in the Anti-Atlas. It may be that there we find ourselves in the presence of the degenerate remains of ancient Judaized Berbère /Berber/ populations. Local traditions often show that these groups were much more numerous in the past and that conversions to Islam obtained by main strength made them disappear.

648 IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- It is easy to find in the detailed account of the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the South of Morocco in the course of the last century the

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648 application of general principles of the policy with regard to the tribes, which have not ceased to be respected since the time of the Saadians.

The first of these practical rules is mistrust with regard to the Berbères /Berbers/ who inhabit the inaccessible districts: "Beware especially," said Ahmed el Mansour to his son, "of enrolling among the fusiliers the mountain people, who think only of eating well and getting rich; one should not take any at all, for, understand it well, by acting thus it is as if you wanted them not to pay you any more taxes, either now or later" (2).

2. Nezoht el Hadi, Houdas trans., p. 288.

Mohammed Echcheikh el Asghar also had this word sent to Mohammed Ben Echcherif at Sidjilmassa: "Never attack the Berbères /Berbers/ in their mountains; wait until you find an easier way to reach them" (3).

3. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

/375/ There remain then for subjugating the tribes the combatants raised in the plains of the Sous, the Dra, or the Azaghar of Marrakech. Most are Arabs whose loyalty is doubtful, and it is necessary, when they are false, to penetrate into their territory "with troops who loot everything and kill mercilessly"; but in spite of their inconstancy they still form the solidest rampart of the dynasty. "Bind to you," said a ruler, " the heart of the Arabs, know what they are capable of, and then you will know confidently what you can expect from each tribe" (1).

1. Ibid., pp. 424-425.

The two poles of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous are the casbah of Marrakech and that of Taroudant. This latter town, however, too often threatened by uprisings and far out of the way from the middle of Berbère /Berber/ country,

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648 cannot be a point of support adequate for facilitating important undertakings. It appears as an active center only at long intervals, in periods of calm, and its importance is second by far to the capital of the Haouz. It is therefore above all in the activity of the pashas of the casbah of Marrakech, exercised over the tribes of the north of the Atlas, that it is possible to find the best examples of the politics of the Makhzen.

648 *631 Keeping the country in relative order, maintaining the tribes and their chiefs in a state of weakness, so that the collection of the tax may be as easy as possible, such is the essential preoccupation of these governors. They carefully watch the kaids named by the sultan in the tribes of the Dir, maintain their divisions, and set them against one another so that they cannot dangerously enlarge their command. They see to it that their casbahs are constructed in places easy to reach and fear letting sheiks too far away in the interior of the great chain take power (2).

2. Cf. above, Book III, Ch. II, p. 415.

If they sometimes act contrary to this rule, as Brahim el Grawi did with respect to the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, it is in order, it seems, to chop up commands that appear too large to them. In the reign of Sidi Mohammed, the Gedmiwa of the Dir are subject to three minor kaids. Upon the death of the great kaid of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the confederation is immediately split up into three parts, and /376/ later Moulay el Hasan established there five chiefs closely watched by "oumana" (1).

1. Moulay el Hasan feared the development of the kaids' power in the tribes, after the example given by El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi.

"All the Sultan's efforts," says Erckmann, "lead toward substituting in the Berbère /Berber/ tribes the authority of the kaïd for that of the jemaᶜa, and in the Arab tribes toward replacing natural groupings by artificial groupings, in such

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/footnote 1 continued/ a way as to increase the yield of the taxes and to triumph more easily over local resistances. For this purpose he substituted for the 18 major commands that formerly existed (for the whole Empire) a considerable number of small groups -- about 330 -- at the head of each of which is found a kaid. The new kaids are inconsequential personages who cannot dream of resisting the orders that they receive; the cohesion of the tribes is destroyed, and the taxes come in more easily. But unfortunately it happens that the country thus oppressed by a crowd of kaids and their confederates is marching toward certain ruin." Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122.

Finally, since in all circumstances the fiction of the Makhzen /makhzan/ must be safeguarded up to within the unsubdued high mountains, the title of kaid is even given to notables without true authority, who accept the risk of protecting the cause of the Makhzen by their own means in the high valleys. Such in the reign of Moulay el Hasan were Mohammed ou Mansour of the Seksawa, named among the Aït Haddiyous, and the ephemeral Bou Lᶜachrat among the Ida Ou Tanan (2).

2. Cf. above.

Sherifian policy moreover knows how to utilize local circumstances admirably, and when commands are too split up, it progressively unites them. Then we see the sultan's representatives act with admirable patience: first of all, the authority of the most reliable amghars is confirmed, generally by giving them the title of kaid, then they are set against one another, while later losing no opportunity to get rid of the defeated ones and to

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648 organize a single command (3).

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3. Cf. "La Tribu de Massat /The Massat Tribe/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 392. With respect to the marabouts themselves, the sultan knows how to give proof of great cleverness and to utilize all their moral influence to strengthen his operations in the tribes. Moulay el Hasan's relations with the sherif of the Tazerwalt in the course of the second Sous expedition can be given as one of the best examples of the flexibility of a political operation entirely crowned with success. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Géranton, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, p. 192.

Often, in the regions controlled best by the Sultan, the kaids' authority is limited by that of the "oumana," for although the tribal chiefs merit the name of "honest servants" in sherifian literature, the sultans have never hesitated to set down very freely the thefts and exactions that most of them committed (4).

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4. On the occasion of a famine, loans of money had been granted to the populations by Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben ʿAbdallah. Writing afterward to his people that he was giving up recovering his advances, this sovereign said, "I have not given you this money with the intention of reclaiming it from you, I have told you that it was a loan solely in order that it would not be secured by your sheiks and your notables for themselves, which they would have done if they had known that it was a gift on my part." "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 333.

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/377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

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V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "moudaᶜ" or of "jemaᶜa," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

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/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighris with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last; in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aït Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

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619 177 *[634] *[631] /footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

[113] [651] Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

[171] [113] 2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arbaᶜin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, [623] [632] "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaᶜa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

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648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

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3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

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In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jema^ca" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

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648 *631 177 178 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domination that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 159 *631 648 [554] The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa, will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 159 *631 648 619 [669] [178] [616] /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his command in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

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159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.

[616] The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of
the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the
sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not
have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or
of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and
pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous
horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some
storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1).

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

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175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and forget
159 their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained
a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses
built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended
to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material
aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have
his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab
origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance,
use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

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175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a reputation
701 only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the command;
the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
*631 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
619 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge
712 of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
*631 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
648 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power;
619 besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

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175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
159 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
*631 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
571 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
574 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
431 witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles,
12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled
sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas
spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of
Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that
his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj
[431] ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan
the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he
was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the
lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this
tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the
great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before
having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison
with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where,
away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting
for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère
/Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings
only an accumulation of misery and the development of intoler-
able abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
619 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
661 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the con-
fusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on
the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman,
and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and be-
lieved to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to op-
pose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth
become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his
brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is
the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide
anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling
them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse them-
*631 selves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
648 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
661 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is
made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
*634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the
661 tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity
contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The
former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of
enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin,
602 while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the
master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the
territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

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*631 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the 648 misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jemaᶜa or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. [662] Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

565 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with 181 an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.

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648 619 669 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign until [175] the strongest or cleverest has won. The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 648 669 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/386 cont./

175 hooting of the Berbères /Berbers/. Sidi El Hasan was clever
648 enough to promise the command of their tribe to the principal
669 notables and succeeded in stopping a movement of revolt that
would have been fatal to him. He was proclaimed the same day
*631 by the sheiks of the Haha promoted to kaids.

Upon the death of Moulay el Hasan, whose reign had been
175 marked, however, by serious efforts to organize the tribes of the
648 South, the news of his disappearance made the "siba" break out
669 at one blow in all the subjugated country south of the Tensift,
*631 and all the casbahs were besieged. The kaids, then in a harka
with the ruler in the Gharb, left the Sultan's camp by double stages, sought refuge with Si ^{c}Aisa ben ^{c}Omar, the powerful kaid of the ^{c}Abda, and from there reached their country in secret. Only the most powerful, the Mtouggi, the Gontafi, the Glawi, succeeded in finding refuge in their great fortresses; most of the other chiefs had to go to take refuge at the tombs of the most venerated marabouts, while their houses were looted and the lands taken back by their former masters.

At the time of the "siba" that was caused in 1904 by the difficulties of the sultan Moulay ^{c}Abd el ^{c}Aziz, at grips with Bou Hamara, we see the minor chiefs hold fast behind the battlements of their ramparts, lend one another mutual support, thanks to the loyalty of /387/ their slaves and mokhaznis, and succeed in re-establishing their previous situation only at the price of long months of effort.

178 The first concern of the Berbères /Berbers/, after besieging
669 and ruining the kaid's house, is to bring together a council of
notables and to try to re-establish the institutions of old. One can
*631 even say that there is no surer way to judge the state of transfor-
*634 mation of a subjugated region than to observe the nature of its
"siba" organization. In the high mountains where the memory of the moqaddems has not yet disappeared, although a sheik has governed the canton for long years, the constitution of the little Berbère /Berber/ state is integrally re-established; lower, on the slopes, the notables chosen, according to the same rules as formerly, in the different hamlets of the former "taqbilt" take the title

/387 cont./

178 of Aīt Arbaᶜin and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without
restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific
fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away,
and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to
obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended.
It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his
tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is
raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but
only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed,
to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive
out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the
whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle
in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

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[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-establishing
*634 in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
648 long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
669 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
178 to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are repeated.
[616] Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids reappear
in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the
banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little
people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aīt Arbaᶜin are abandoned
and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too
much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
648 too burdensome a yoke.

669 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by
178 the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït ʿAisi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in ruins today.

178
IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

*[634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed toward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

/389 cont./

178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
[177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of
Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
177 the definitive ruin of the "^{c}orf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
648 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conform-
671 able with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[779] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chra^c" /shar^c,
Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

(1) One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chra^c /shar^c/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "^{c}orf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

/389 cont./
177 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At
648 the same time the part of the "chra^{c}" /shar^{c}/ grows unceasingly:
671 it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property
litigation.

It is most often at this moment that the political penetration
177 of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes,
648 the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to
671 the care of the moqaddem or Aīt Arba^{c}in, falls into the hands of
*631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of
*634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other
than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of
what importance to him are the ancient rules established by
assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power?
[681] Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that
take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a
large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least
[693] be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to
the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge
according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

/390 cont./
*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal
power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to
join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it
is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid;
the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in
the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into
the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one
must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under
the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come
to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of
the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in
order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and
their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire
without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that
condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

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Conclusion
The Political Evolution of Sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/

I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- VII. The political future of Berbérie /Barbary/.

121 171 I. The Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- In the various regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, as we have seen in the course of this long study, the same social institutions rule the Masmouda, sequestered in the depths of the remote valleys of the Deren, the inhabitants of the market towns and hamlets that rise on the parched plateaus of the Anti-Atlas, the Jbala and the Riffians in their harsh mountains with peaks crowned with cedars, as well as the Kabyles of Algeria whose villages occupy the summits of the Djurjura like eagles' nests.

In all these regions, separated from one another by immense spaces, men live while obeying the same laws in spite of their diversity of origin and notwithstanding the variety of the conditions of material existence. That they have kept their millenary traditions they owe to the isolation of their territories. The present-day evidence of their institutions has a historic value; they give us the picture of what the Maghreb might have been if the Arab invasions in the East and the formation of the great Empires in the West had not ruined the minuscule states in which the Berbères /Berbers/ like to conceal their activity.

121 *634 571 171 [642] Two primordial tendencies determine the political life of the Berbères /Berbers/: in the first place they feel repugnance toward the constitution of a state of some size, they spontaneously organize themselves everywhere into small units whose dimensions do not exceed those of a mere /394/ canton and which are the veritable fatherland for the sedentary peoples; in the second place, by a kind of instinctive genius, the Berbères /Berbers/ form systems of balanced alliances that permit the small autonomous

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121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
571 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
171 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
*634 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the bound-
642 aries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel, Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems, any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past century divided into small republics similar to those of the Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
171 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
619 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
*634 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form
578 are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*631 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part
*634

/394 cont./

121 of the Atlas contained between the col of the Glawa and the Tizi
171 Ma^{c}cho, actually offers us /395/ the spectacle of the simultane-
*631 ous appearance of a large number of minor chiefs who manage
exceptionally well to consolidate their authority and to banish for
*634 a time the tradition of egalitarian republics. Soon, however, a
[198] complete evolution takes shape before our eyes: in the course of
the last 20 years, one could observe all the forms of transition be-
tween the humble amghars, masters of a few villages sequestered
under the walnut trees in the depths of the gorges of the Atlas,
and the great kaids, possessors of large tribes, who, from the
depths of their casbahs, govern the states that they have conquered
[648] by force. The latter moreover in their turn pave the way, by
ruining the ancient institutions by means of which they took
power, for the arrival of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the estab-
lishment of a unified Mussulman Empire, whose laws seem to us
similar to those of the great Oriental monarchies.

In the course of the first part of our study on the Berbère /Berber/ republics, and when we tried to become acquainted with the circumstances under which the temporal power of the canton amghars appears, we were able to multiply the comparisons between the Sous, the Rif, and Kabylie /Kabylia/. But during this short period that saw the rapid development of the authority of the great chiefs in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it seemed to us that we were in the presence of a political regime almost unknown, at least in recent epochs, in the other regions of North Africa populated by sedentary peoples.

121 Perhaps now, after having analyzed at length the conditions
under which the power of these "lords of the Atlas" is formed, we
128 may try, by casting our eyes farther, to put their domination side
*631 by side with those of the Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms and Empires
whose sudden constitution the history of the Maghreb sometimes
shows us; by comparing successive phases of their growth with that
of the principalities of the Sous, we shall then perceive the deep
causes of the strength and of the weakness of these astonishing
political constructions, looming up so rapidly from the obscurity
of tribal life and which disappear without having succeeded in dis-
turbing in any lasting fashion the immobility of the Maghreb.

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105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 182 619 726 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" [616] under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*631 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to
subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the
vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
*631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
*634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from
similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile
land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them,
these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of develop-
ment. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and
dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of
one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated
plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the
borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are
erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowing-
ly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the
small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high
valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging
so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit,
then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor
field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independ-
ent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the
government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
*631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
*634 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
182 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
554 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/
648 always give without measure to those who claim to defend them
against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the
plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the
amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order
and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Madani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time
554 of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ᶜAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi
and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period,
on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*634 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of
*631 the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in progressively
182 subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of immense
616 territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep
the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
616 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the
571 original disorder.

III. The Berbère /Berber/ Kingdoms of North Africa. -- We
000 do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagoutaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

/401 cont./

OOO Maghreb the Fatimides /Fatimids/ paved the way for the conquest of Ifriqiya, Sicily, Egypt, and Syria in the tenth century. They, too, proceeded "from the inside to the outside." We see them first of all join together, thanks to an active religious preaching, the forces, scattered until then, of the tribes of the Koutama and make out of them the reservoir of energy from which they will countlessly draw; after the conquest of the towns of Ifriqiya, these rude peasants will moreover become, like the Almohade Berbères /Berbers/ of the Nefis, the true masters of the country and will receive "as recompense for their services, sums of money, beautiful slaves, and important commands"; later, it is again by carrying with him into Egypt the nation of the Koutama, organized into tribes, that El Moezz will found his eastern Empire (1).

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1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 225; Vol. II, p. 511 and sqq.; E.-F. Gautier, Les Siècles obscurs [illegible] Maghreb /The Obscure Centuries of the Maghreb/, pp. 306-330. M. Gautier points out rightly that the Berbère /Berber/ States of the upper Middle Ages were often founded by foreigners: Idris, Obeid Allah, ᶜAbd el Moumen, Roustem (p. 312). But it is necessary to note that these leaders were always adopted by a group; the agreement of enemy soffs was obtained more easily in their name; their quality as foreigners thus facilitated their beginnings, and later they followed Berbère /Berber/ tradition by utilizing the forces of the tribes that accepted them as masters.

We must doubtless give up forever learning how, in the heart of the country of the sedentary Senhaja of Algeria, the minor kings of Achir and of the Qala in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the rival lords of Kouko and Beni Abbes in the sixteenth century, succeeded in founding their kingdoms among tribes still in our

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles
that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the
Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war
leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that
moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career
foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him
[578] first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe;
after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his
[619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes
of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman,
Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of
the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert,
175 Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of
the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates
631 from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of
669 Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus
648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

/402 cont./

175 631 660 648 of the tribes of the vicinity. ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara, /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 631 554 [648] Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the enthusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 631 182 648 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

R /403 cont./
175 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
63! that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
182 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete
648 ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the
chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village: ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/404 cont./

121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are inspired
171 by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like itself.
*631 The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly devoted
554 to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all circumstances
182 the necessary condition for success. Even when great
religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
121 canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their memory,
171 as do all the companions from their village associated with
*631 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
554 vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland.
182 Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by
the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a
578 time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
*[634] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his
[616] canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs
and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./

121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these republics,
554 where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambitions
182 of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get lessons
616 in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
171 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
*631 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this country
182 that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
171 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
578 the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victorious amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to preserve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legislation
*631 of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism
or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the
Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States: their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the existence
*631 of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
[175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
[178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics
of these religious states, because they have ceased to
have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by
reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries
by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the
masters of the zaouïas and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw
back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded
by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the
montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with
green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great
annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the
merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas,
Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family
tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive
this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into
a definitive decline (1).

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1. Starting from the submission of its chief
to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raissouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel
ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er-Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants
were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally
the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal
leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

792 /408 cont./
795 to the Riffian chief. from the first hours of the fight against Spain.
*631 that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.

171 In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas. since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans. other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them. they utilized. among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa. the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal. the third is led. at the moment that we are writing these lines. by Sidi Mohammed ben Talbi. who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi ʿAli Amhaouch. both prophet and marabout. who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained
792 if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families.
795 thanks to their real or alleged nobility. are screened from the
*631 fratricidal fights. the vengeances. the violent quarrels of the leffs.
182 which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides. their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority. so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force: the opposite of the temporal chiefs. they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions. they contribute toward maintaining them. and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems. which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all. since the voluntary tithes. the presents. and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands. they can

/409 cont./

792 795 *631 182 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that frequently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance: it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this [578] moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 795 *631 648 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias finishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity [178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/409 cont./

792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
*631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
brotherhood of the Derqawa: in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the chorfa
648 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries be-
171 tween the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the
same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el
Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
*631 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
648 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less ser-
vile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their
lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that
of the representatives of the Sultan.

Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
178 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
792 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
795 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
*631 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
648 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then
from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Iligh in
the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political
importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the
kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the
desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at [illegible]
among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where
the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages
have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary popu-
lations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peace-
ful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
*631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/410 cont./
178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions
of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the
language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the
/411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the
social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the
Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts
often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that
traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of
the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the
end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power
longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the
montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in
their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in
the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions
to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say
that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large
religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth
century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present
and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the
picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

182 792 795 *631 792 178

/411 cont./
it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

*631 648 17

VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;

[669] [578]

/412 cont./
*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[578] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of
[669] the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of
primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are
inseparable from their very life.

The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to
[792] stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compli-
ance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared
first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to
defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the
senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and
[693] abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new
leaders is obvious.

At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
*[634] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
[343] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
[652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[466] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops
are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

[653] Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
[423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the At-
[166] las entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants,
the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive
exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security
of possessions and persons is more certain.

When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established
[735] without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on
the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one
sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

*631 /413 cont./
648 of the government is indeed to keep the most turbulent populations,
17 or the ones most intense about winning back their liberty,
[735) calm by crushing them with ceaselessly renewed contributions.

It is easy to understand that the Berbères /Berbers/, thus shut
*631 up in this field of ruins, soon come to associate in their minds
648 the Makhzen with a regime of peace, oppression, and poverty,
17 while the more disturbed government of the independent republics
153 alone seems to them capable of preserving the life of the institutions
of their villages. In the servitude into which they have
fallen, the development of anarchy appears to them as the only
guarantee of the prosperity of families and of respect for traditions.
[669) The "siba," the revolt, for which the Sultan's death is the awaited
signal, becomes both an instinctive movement of defense against
intolerable domination and an appeal to the internal forces of liberation:
consequently, this explains why the first act of the tribe
after destroying the kaid's house is, by a kind of unconscious gesture
of the collective memory, to assemble the notables /414/ in
order to restore, in a form that we still recognize, the patriarchal
government of ancient times.

648 VII. The future of Moroccan Berbérie /Barbary/. -- For 20 years the establishment of France in Morocco has entirely modified the respective situation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the independent tribes. But it is especially since the period in which the progress of pacification multiplied our direct relations with the populations of the former "bled es siba" that the Berbère /Berber/ country has manifested, sometimes under tragic circumstances, signs of a vitality whose deep meaning we may henceforth no longer hide from ourselves.

During the first years of our Protectorate, the problems of our establishment and the organization of a country ruined by revolts were first of all associated with the restoration of the decadent institutions of the Sherifian Empire. The natural play of diplomatic action, the obligations of international treaties -- whose tenor implied the existence of a Morocco similar to the European states, united, centralized, regularly governed according to definite

/414 cont./

648 laws -- above all, our habits of mind thus led us to establish complete identity between the far Maghreb and the Empire. In truth, this confusion was justified to a certain degree only for the region of the towns and plains, in the whole extent of the "bled el Makhzen"; consequently, as long as our efforts were exerted within the former boundaries in which the tribes had entirely forgotten their past institutions and had even yielded to the practices of the Mussulman monarchy, no doubt arose as to the value of our fiction. Even more, its accuracy could seem proven when a leader of genius had understood that by acquiring the political heritage of sherifian prestige, based on memories of the last military expeditions of the Sultans in the Sous and the Tafilelt, it would be easier to defeat the pretenders and the leaders of holy war, springing up from all sides on the frontiers of the subject country; it was permissible to believe for a time that the successes obtained with so much cleverness and effort justified the intentions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ to set up a State without internal frontiers, in the bosom of which all the subjects were to live without local institutions, guided by the single law of Islam, under the authority of absolute chiefs, according to the example of the monarchies of the East.

/415/ Certainly it had not escaped the Résident Général of France in Morocco from our first contact with the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ that the Berbère pastoralists of central Morocco had customs different from those of the Arabs of the plains; in 1914, laws fortunately sanctioned the institutions and the law of these tribes; soon in these regions one even saw the kaids that we had imposed accept the judicial authority of the councils of notables, thus indicating the humble situation of the Makhzen in a country where the assemblies of family heads had remained all-powerful. Everywhere, even in the parts of the country where in the course of the conquest we met powerful temporal leaders -- like those of the Zayan -- the abuses of the sherifian government had up to then remained unknown; respect for the Berbère /Berber/ traditions was asserting itself with undeniable vitality.

/415 cont./

648 But also at the same time the Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ and Zénètes of central Morocco, who had stayed outside the Empire up to this time, were not ceasing to offer furious resistance to our advance; the harsh conquest of the Beni Warain in 1923, that of the Aït Seghrouchen and of the Marmoucha in 1926 were showing the obstinate will of the independent communities to defend their liberty; at the time that we are terminating this study, the large confederations of the Aït Sokhman, of the Aït Seri, Aït Yahya, Aït Yafelman, and Aït Moghrad, settled on the two versants of the Atlas, are assembling their forces, multiplying their attacks in the subject plains, and putting the confines of the "bled el Makhzen" in peril one last time; thus they are indicating their will to remain as long as possible outside the Empire, whose life moreover they are disturbing profoundly.

Among the sedentary peoples of the south of Morocco, with whose life we have tried to become acquainted, events that have taken place for five years, while we were proceeding with our investigations in the tribes, show plainly how much the nature of the institutions differs from those that the presence of the great kaids left us to imagine at the beginning; they enable us to understand the profound tendencies of this region whose existence had been changed by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and which was shutting itself up in a bleak passivity crossed by revolts.

Successively, the disappearance of the small states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi, the constant weakening of the prestige of the Glawa /416/ at the confines of the Sahara, the effort of the Berbères /Berbers/ remaining free at the limit of the commands to treat with France without intermediaries indeed made manifest the fragility of a political edifice whose feudal aspect had already been imprudently outlined by writers fond of exoticism. At the same time, the submission of the last dissident tribes of the western Atlas, in the region of the Tichka and of the Ida Ou Tanan, which we have so often studied in order to understand the nature of the traditional institutions of the Sous, gave us new proof of the effort of the montagnards to escape the grasp of the great chiefs whose domination they feared with good reason.

/416 cont./

648 [178] In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ᶜAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 177 166 *634 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

/417 cont./

619 167 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 171 178 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

/417 cont./

000 By recalling here the existence of the internal forces that still dominate the life of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes and survive conquest and submission to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for a long time, we have wished to contribute toward indicating the direction in which the efforts of France in the future can render less harsh the condition of a people who have often tried, by unconscious steps, in the course /418/ of a restless history, to realize the contradictory dream of prosperity in anarchy or power in violence and oppression.

To be sure, among these hidden energies, which always remain ready to manifest themselves in the mountain communities, some are capable only of destroying and cannot henceforth find a place in a new order: they are the ones that make an appeal to the dreams of warlike independence and dissension and liberate in an instant the passions shut up in hearts for some years of an imposed peace. These forces belong to the past and their unleashing is excused if one thinks of the memories of poverty that are connected with the domination of the former Makhzen. Other tendencies, on the contrary, orient the life of these primitives toward a better future: the spirit of association, so highly developed and so flexible that it could permit the founding of economic institutions as perfect as the large agadirs of the Sous; the most lasting attachment to the ties of brotherhood capable of uniting the voluntary emigrants with one another, far as they are from their canton of origin.

It is certainly by this fidelity to the mysterious ideas of leff or of tribe that the Berbères /Berbers/ are best distinguished from the cultivators of the plains of the "bled el Makhzen," so prompt to abandon their soil because they are no longer attached to it by ancient traditions. In vain in our day do the roads begin to penetrate to the center of the most inaccessible regions of the Atlas; in the cars and rapid trains that cross the Maghreb, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ take along with them the ineradicable and constant memory of their house, their land, their brothers, and

/418 cont./

000 their enemies; everywhere they reconstitute this tribe and this canton within which is shut up all their life and their ideal.

The nostalgic song with which they then, at a distance, like to lull the sadness of their exile brings to us, as far as the cities of the North, the secret of their strength and weakness: in that phrase indefinitely repeated, which is the echo of the Berbère /Berber/ choruses in the mountains, their soul is exposed; it evokes the harsh life of the Atlas, which the poets know how to adorn with a smile, the charm of freedom, the simplicity of a narrow existence, imprisoned by immutable traditions, which stubbornly impose on men the same acts in the same places.

Having no fatherland other than their group of villages, no laws other /419/ than their customs, the Berbères /Berbers/ remain insensitive to the pride of belonging to the Empire. With [648] respect to that Makhzen, whose authority formerly brought them only ruin, they bear witness only to a conventional fidelity inspired by fear; it is from France that they await in silence, with a patience already uneasy at times, recognition of their simple aspirations of justice and a better life.

Perhaps it is not foolhardy to hope that a day will come when the mountain tribes, whose territory outlines large natural regions on the border of the former "bled el Makhzen," will be able, thanks to our support, to free themselves to a certain extent from the too-narrow bonds in which the sherifian tradition today encloses them. In those provinces far away from the towns, for which the history of the country suffices to trace the boundaries quite accurately, the Berbères /Berbers/ will become aware with more force, under an administrative regime adapted to their existence, of the very durable bonds that connect them to their soil.

Such a reform would answer the wish of the populations who manifest, by muffled appeals, their desire to escape the economic

/419 cont./

000 and social leveling of the subjugated plains, or bear witness, by a furious resistance to our advance, to their attachment to their secular customs. At the same time for the far Maghreb it would be a pledge of internal peace and a guarantee of prosperity.

Already, as a matter of fact, at the spectacle of the political evolution of Islam, so rapid in other countries, the city youth of the capitals of the old Empire feels invincibly attracted by dangerous novelties. Nowhere, undoubtedly, so much as in North Africa would the sudden conflict of the most modern ideas and of primitive life have as a consequence a renewal of the peoples' disorder and poverty.

Only an appeal to the powers of preservation of Berbérie /Barbary/, which have remained sovereign in a large part of Morocco, will in the future permit attenuating the collision of the habitudes of the past and the illusions of the future. This country will find only in respect for its customs, in attachment to its local modes of speaking, in love of its traditions, the strength to resist the vertigo into which the modernized Empires of the East already find themselves swept along on the uncertain and perilous path of the struggle of nations. /Page 420 is blank./

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[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

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[For a general history of the maraboutic brotherhoods in Morocco from the beginning of the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century, see category 116, pp. 106-132 and 138-139; historical information on the establishment of the Zaouias (schools or religious centers for the various orders), will be found in category 116, pp. 122-124.]

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[For a detailed cultural history of Morocco from Roman times to the early 20th century, with special emphasis on the region of the Sous, see category 116, pp. 25, 34-48, and 71-151.]

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[For general and historical information on the Berber kingdoms of North Africa, see 2: Montagne. MW11 Shluh. pp. 516-517.]

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[For general information on the territorial organization of the Shluh, including specific data on the confederations and the "great chiefs" or *caids*, see Category 116, pp. 48-49, 64-65, 153-188, 190-192, 199-201, 204-205, 211-221, 239-240, 248-249, 259, 299-300, 350, 354-355, 368, 371, 380, 385-387, 396-405, 409-424, 428-473, 480-481, 487-516, and 520-531.]

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[For information on the servants, retainers and other personnel of the casbahs of the "great chiefs," see categories 631, 712, and 634.]

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[For general and historical information on the Berber kingdoms of North Africa, see 2: Montagne, MW11 Shluh, pp. 516-517.]

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[For information on the "great chiefs" or caids of the Atlas, see category 631.]

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[For information on the locations and construction of casbahs (fortresses), see category 712.]

[For additional information on the casbahs as the residence of the "great chiefs," see also category 712.]

[Since the term "tribe" is defined in the literature of this file as a grouping of several districts with territorial unity but without overt political institutions, category 635 has been used for some of the earlier political data in this file pertinent to the "tribe." The researcher is therefore advised to consult this category (635) for additional data.]

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[For general information on the political structure of the Shluh canton (taqbilt), including specific data on the district councils and heads of the "state" -- the amghar and moquaddem – see Category 116, pp. 17, 48-49, 154, 160-162, 166-174, 177-182, 190-192, 196-221, 236-249, 253-260, 265, 267, 271, 292-293, 296-317, 330-332, 337-343, 350, 353, 357-386, 394-435, 439-441, 445, 449-465, 468-470, 490-492, 499, 502-516, 521-522, 530, and 534.]

[For information on Shluh confederations (and super-confederations), made up of a number of neighboring tribes, see category 631.]